California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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MISSION SAN BUENAVENTURA IN 1855

From a watercolor by Lieutenant James Alden of the U. S. Coast Survey,
a gift to the Society from Mr. Henry R. Wagner.

California Historical Society
Quarterly

VOLUME XVI NUMBER 4

DECEMBER 1937

CALIFORNIA IN THE EIGHTIES

As Pictured in the Letters of Anna Seward

Introduction

Anna Seward, born in Tallmadge, Ohio, May 16, 1862, was graduated from Lake Erie Seminary (now Lake Erie College) in 1881 and for a short time taught in the Tallmadge public schools. In response to a telegram from her cousin, the Reverend F. Dwight Seward, of Ventura, urging her to come to California to enter the competitive examinations for a teaching position, she left the East and journeyed to her destination on board "an emigrant train," an experience as colorful as those of the overland and sea journeys of the Gold Rush days. What she saw in her new home is set down in a vivid and entertaining manner and constitutes a true picture of the time when California below the Tehachapi was filling up with mid-western settlers.

In 1887, she left California, going to China as a missionary and there, the year following, she married the Reverend C. W. Pruitt, of the Southern Baptist Mission. After almost fifty years as a missionary to China, during which occurred the Sino-Japanese war of 1894, the Boxer rebellion, the Russo-Japanese war, the Chinese revolution and the period of banditry that followed, she and her husband retired from active work and now divide their time between Atlanta, Georgia, and Philadelphia. Only that portion of her correspondence relating to California is included here. It was obtained for publication through the courtesy of Mr. Lester S. Ready, a cousin of Mrs. Pruitt, who has likewise furnished much of the information to be found in the notes.

Santa Fe R. R. Depot, Kansas City,
May 30, 1883.

You will be surprised, perhaps a little shocked, to know that I am here waiting for the train that is to take me to California. But when you learn that my ticket is 3rd class, and that I am booked on the *Emigrant* train, your fine, aristocratic hair will begin to rise.

California has always appealed to me, its flowers, its fruit, its mild climate, and now, an added attraction, its well-paid school teachers. My cousin, pastor in San Buena Ventura,[1] telegraphed for me to come now for the semi-annual teachers' examination. This explains the suddenness of my flight.

I admit that 3rd class tickets and emigrant passage do not have an agreeable flavor back in Ohio, on the proud Western Reserve, but the farther west I come the less obnoxious do they seem. Once across the Missouri River this grade of travel is no disgrace. Breathing the free western air I am already rid of some of my snobbishness.

I left home yesterday in pouring rain that painfully reminded the dear ones I was leaving of the washouts, and broken bridges, and disastrous floods of a few months ago. Yesterday, at Cincinnati, I saw up on the station wall the high water mark made by the recent flood. It was far above a man's head.

There on the platform I also noticed a fellow traveler whom I immediately recognized as an eternally un-slavable Briton by the tabs on his traveling cap, by his gait which no American can imitate, and most of all by the anapaestic swing of his walking stick, two thrusts and a jab, two thrusts and a jab, like clockwork.

On the train we happened to occupy the same seat. He, too, was a teacher and came from Ireland to study our educational system, supposing that we have such a thing. He was really interesting, refrained from criticising us as crude, admitted that "zee" is just as expressive and logical as "zed," and only incidentally questioned the advantage of saying "double e" instead of "e — e."

Snow fell in Ohio the day I left, but when we reached St. Louis flowers were blooming in the dooryards. The chivalrous Southern gentleman who shared my seat that afternoon, brought me a bouquet of roses.

En route. I forget the day.

So far as I know, the delights of the emigrant sleeping car have never been sung. They deserve an epic. Our two passenger coaches are attached to the end of a freight train. The agent used judgment in assigning our berths. Families and single ladies are in the rear car and all the single men in the other.

Before starting the peanut boy sold each of us a clean, new mattress, filled with straw. You remember our nursery friend, Marjory Daw, who

"Sold her bed for a pile of straw,
Sold her ease for a bed of dried grass,
To buy herself a looking-glass."

How we condemned her vanity and pitied her discomfort!

My opinion has entirely changed. A straw mattress is really comfortable, far preferable to Marjory's feather bed, and I now know from experience that without a mirror a modern woman lacks an essential of civilized life.

In preparation for the journey I took the advice of a traveled friend and searched the Akron stores for a celluloid collar to wear as evidence of invisible underclothes. The ease with which it is laundered is its great virtue.

While waiting in Kansas City I was happy to attach myself to a nice family moving from Illinois to Riverside, California. The three small boys are my little brothers. Dr. Magee[2] is tall and dignified even without the stove-pipe hat that I am sure is somewhere in his baggage. Dear Mrs. Magee is as tiny as he is tall. It adds to my feeling of self-respect as well as to my pleasure to be no longer "A lone, lorn creetur." The boys and I have wonderful story tellings, and in the cool of the evenings we love to sit on the rear platform and sing Gospel songs with the rhythm of the wheels for our accompaniment.

A German family in our car is socially inaccessible on account of language. The *frau* is so scrupulously neat that she daily exhausts our supply of water in washing out the slightly soiled pinafores of the children. When the reservoir is dry she begins on the iced drinking water. In long stretches between stations this is almost unforgivable. So cleanliness, far removed from godliness becomes a vice of the first, or rather, the last water.

I am so glad to be on this slow moving emigrant special rather than on an express. Those trains pass us twice a day in clouds of plutocratic dust while we humbly look on from the side track. Our slow progress is a great advantage in the matter of sight-seeing.

In the forward car are two young men from Chicago going to seek their fortunes in California. We noticed them in the Kansas City station, where one was smoking a cigarette. We did not think that they were our kind of people. Knowing them better we find them pleasant acquaintances. Of his own accord the smoker told us that he had been smoking cubeb cigarettes for catarrh.[2a]

Our train advances so slowly that these boys make a practice of jumping from the front of their car, picking their hands full of flowers from beside the track, then boarding the moving train at our back door.

The conductor has time to spare, so at any point of interest he stops for us to make short excursions. Once or twice daily we halt for a prolonged stay, to change engines. Then four of us young people with the Magee boys start out to do the town. The least boy I nickname "Me Too," not because he insists on following, but because of the Conkling-like curl on his forehead.[3]

Out here on the prairies the wagon road runs parallel to the track. Just as we are passed superciliously by the express trains, so do we outdistance the covered wagons of other emigrants with as much of a flourish as a freight train can execute. Do these slowly moving travelers pity us as we pity the Pullman passengers?

The prairies are up to specifications, just what I had pictured them to be. I am wondering if the mountains will be like their image in my mind, frightful and lowering, like huge black clouds.

We travel slowly enough to greet the prairie dogs who sit atop of their wee sod shanties and scold us for intruding. The tiny beasties watch us till we are almost passed, then duck into their holes, satisfied that the invader has been routed.

I have a pleasant section mate from Indiana. With our own pillows and curtains we have all the comfort and privacy that we need.

Sometimes the train crew invite us into their two story caboose for a better view of the scenery. The train boy who goes with us all the way to Los Angeles, is a good-looking specimen of peanut butcher, though his name is Files. He is quite one of us and we rely on him for information about the country.

Tucson, Arizona Territory,
Monday, June 4.

On this hot and dusty part of our journey we are thankful for slat seats instead of cushions. The heat does not all come from the stove at the rear of the car where one can do a bit of cooking. As for my meals, the friends at home pictured me crossing the Great American Desert on a solitary pilgrimage far from civilized eating places. They supplied me with an embarrassing amount of lunch. Only sentiment and the inherent thrift of my New England ancestry keep me from throwing it all overboard.

I have beheld mountains both far and near. I have crossed some. I no longer fear them. Early one morning I was out on the platform and saw elevations on the far western horizon.

"Are those the Rocky Mountains?" I asked a passing brakeman.

"Gracious, child, them's only foot-hills," he answered this self-evident tender-foot.

We followed a stream. I asked its name. The answer sounded like "Picket wire," suggestive of a new kind of fencing.[4] It is the Spanish for Purgatory, a new idea for Dante.

The Rio Grande, that grand river, cannot put on airs with us any more. We have seen its humble beginnings. At Albuquerque (four syllables, not three,) we took an excursion through the town. We found a muddy ferry boat on the bank of this insignificant stream and began to pull ourselves across. We thought better of it when we saw the mud and water within the boat as well as without.

My education is progressing faster than the train. In teaching the geography of our country to confiding youth I have called this city "Tuck-son." I now sit in sackcloth and ashes, (desert sand will do for the one, and the all pervading soot for the other.) The name of this Arizona metropolis is "Too-Son. Here the train boy has bought me some candy made from the juice of the desert cactus. The candy (dolce) came from the grimy hand of a wrinkled son of the desert but was none the less delicious.

Another novelty to which the peanut boy has introduced me is the piñon (pin-yo-nee) nut that comes from the large pine cones and is roasted like a peanut.

I had a humiliating experience yesterday. One of the brakemen was handsome and upstanding without the habitual slouch of a regular train hand. His English, too, was good, as I discovered in an early morning conversation. He was a Princeton student under the tubercular ban, engaged in this humble occupation for its open air advantages. You know my theory that, as every eye has its blind spot, so every brain has its idiotic point. My mind was doubtless functioning in or about that unlucky place, for I told the trainboy the interesting story of the scholarly brakeman. My sympathy was turned into confusion when he called out, very publicly, for "That dude of a brakeman who turns brakes on the Santa Fe for his health." He insinuated that drink had compelled this student to seek help for his finances as well as for his health.

All day yesterday we were passing through white washed villages of wee adobe huts and tiny white-crossed churches. The trainmen distinguished them, some Mexican, some Indian. I could see no difference. They looked like toy villages that might be played with.

We have frequent visits from blanketed Indians on peaceful barter bent. Small slabs of light blue stone are "Turquoie, two bits." Other jewels that look like pieces of broken glass are topaz, also two bits for one small bit, till the train is about to start, when the price comes tumbling down.

The squaws sell figures made of sun-baked clay gaily decorated in crude colors.

The papooses are interesting. A row of them, each strapped to its flat, upright cradle, stands along the station fence. Stoical indeed are these aboriginal Americans, but I saw one start to cry. He was evidently teething, and even an Indian suffers at this stage of his development. The mother picked up a pebble, too large for easy swallowing, wiped it on her blanket and gave that into his mouth for her young brave to cut his teeth upon.

Fort Yuma, Arizona Ter. June 5

Here we have a long wait of a whole forenoon. Yuma is doing its best to live up to its reputation as the hottest place on the inhabited globe. They tell the story of the cowboy who went from here to the lower regions. The change of climate was such that he sent back for his blankets.

Here at the station our eyes are refreshed by the sight of well-watered plants, and flowers tended by Indians whose concession to civilization includes clothing of a brief sort, but whose hair is aboriginal. The chief flower-tender has long locks, stiff with glue. They hang about his shoulders like ebony sticks. Our all-wise train-boy says that it is a sign he is in mourning for a near relative. My reflection is that if ever he comes out of mourning for the relative and attempts to reduce his locks to the semblance of hair he will be in even deeper mourning for himself.

We young people are not discouraged by the heat. We have walked across the Colorado River on the long bridge. We sat down on wayside rocks to rest till warned that the place had been pre-empted by centipedes and scorpions.

Death [Imperial] Valley.

Here in California we are encountering the real desert. Alkali adds its venom to the heat. We are nearly 300 feet below sea level and the name of the valley is appropriate except for its implication that life might once have existed in this forbidding waste.

All manner of food has become distasteful. Butter is a disgusting yellow oil, nauseating to behold. The blackberry cordial that was to save me from cholera on this perilous trip has fermented and I have turned it over to the doctor as medicine for ailing children.

The motion of the train, instead of bringing cooler air to our chapped faces, treats us to a blast of heat as from a furnace. The ice in the drinking water melts long before we reach the next filling place. The unwearying German mother still raids the tank. I might even consider taking this part of the trip on an express train.

But here on the desert we have seen something worth while denied to ordinary passengers. The all-knowing train boy told us of mud volcanoes[5] not far from the track. The conductor halted the train at the nearest point. We who are young and enthusiastic went to behold the marvel. The combined heat of sun and sand was enough to have cooked brains less volatile than ours. But we feel well paid. Those humble eruptions are not mentioned in any geography I ever studied, but I know that they exist and are worth mentioning. We looked into a shallow basin of mud, thickly set with puddles from which, without preliminary sputter or apparent effort fountains of water spouted straight up and dropped back with the regularity of piston rods. I felt the water. It was cold, that is, it was not as hot as the surrounding sand. The jets were not synchronous. Each ran on a schedule of its own. Even the omniscient Mr. Files did not attempt to tell us what lay below these spurts of water in this dry and thirsty land.

Los Angeles, California, June 8.

Early this morning we arrived at the end of the Railroad journey, but still seventy miles from my destination. It was eight o'clock train time when we

entered the station. But at the opposite door the town clock said only six. Never again do I expect to have a day twenty-six hours long.

I had become so much attached to the whole Magee family that it was like parting from home folks when they left the train.

This afternoon, the train boy, my only remaining friend, dressed in his Sunday best, came to the hotel and took me for a walk among the Angels. Banana trees and other tropical vegetation opened up a new world to me. Oranges sold by the bucket instead of the dozen emphasised the change.

I feel a little like a Los(t) Angel myself, alone and so far from home.

San Buena Ventura, Calif. June 18.

Seventy miles by stage coach in one long day brought me here. I had my first experience of mountain roads and the reckless way a stage driver rounds sharp corners and rattles on his downward course with speed fit to land us in Avernus or some other equally disagreeable place.

The Conejo (Con-a-ho) Valley where we stopped for dinner looks like a well tended park. The fine live oak trees have been spaced by nature just far enough apart to give the effect of artistic design. It was lovely but lonely.

San Buena Ventura was an early Spanish Mission. The Padres, with no regard for time gave this long but musical name to both town and county. Being interpreted it means Holy Good Luck. Yankee enterprise invaded the land, and, so far as the county is concerned, has thrown away all that is holy and all that is good, trusting solely to luck, shortening the name to Ventura Co.

A few miles out from town we crossed the Santa Clara River, now a wide sandy bed where an emaciated stream reposes till revived by winter rains. Beside the stream is the brief town of New Jerusalem.[6] Its earliest settlers were two Hebrew Children who opened a saloon for the irrigation of the passing public. Hence the name. We saw no wings and heard no harps but the street was paved with gold, the bright yellow of the barley straw, spread to keep down the dust.

Several miles out from town my cousin met me and I was glad to exchange the bumpy stage for his light-running buggy. His welcome helped me to feel that I was, at last, in a place where I belonged.

Before we came within sight of the ocean I heard the sound that I knew must be the beating of surf upon the shore. It thrilled my inland soul. Later, when face to face with the vast Pacific I could not see that it looked any larger than Lake Erie, or that the beach was any beachier. But it exhales the invigorating salty air that no inland waters give. On the whole I am not disappointed in

"Old ocean's gray and melancholy waste."

I have learned to love the mountains that crowd our city almost into the sea. I delight in this blessed climate. The feathery pepper trees with their

pungent odor, the no less fragrant eucalyptus trees, hedges of calla lilies, roses growing on trees, and heliotrope climbing to the eaves of the house, give me a feeling of enchantment that I can't explain. Only the fruit orchards, with no green grass under the trees, looked naked and uninviting.

But beauties of nature can't lift me above the fear that I shall fail in the coming examination. And if I fail, as fail I may, I cannot try again for six months. By that time I shall be an object of charity, as I am now of pity.

June 18.

The first day of my ordeal is over. I have three fellow victims, all men and all Normal School graduates.

We sat, this morning, with outward composure awaiting the arbiters of fate. The first to enter was a beautiful grayhound, and behind him his master, the county Superintendent, a short, stocky man with a wart on his nose, quite Cromwellian.[7] After him was a full bearded, soft hatted man of slender build whom one would instinctively call Colonel and recognize as an ideal Confederate veteran.[7a] The examiners were themselves carefully examined. But I am ready to forget all about them except as our inquisitors in the trial through which we are now—I dare not say passing, but only attempting to pass.

Saturday, June 23.

Glory hallelujah! I have passed after a week of dreadful suspense. I have, not the second grade certificate that was my utmost hope, but a first grade one, while the three men all failed. Oh, be joyful!

The Mound, October 15.

I am again in my element, presiding over a district school. This one over which I now hold sway is in a delightful community, not far from town and is counted one of the best districts in the whole county.

The otherwise level landscape is dominated by two huge mounds, whether works of nature or relics of the forgotten Mound Builders I can't say.[8] As no professional archeologist has been here to disprove my theory I shall go on dreaming of hid treasures under the crop of ripening beans, to which staple the whole valley is much addicted. There are also orchards of fruit and nuts.

I have a delightful boarding place, with a real grandmother in the family, and grandmothers are not numerous in this comparatively new country. "Granny" Holland and her husband were Forty-niners,[9] but they came, not for gold and earthly treasure, but as missionaries to lead people to seek treasure in Heaven.

I walk to school under an avenue of mustard, tall like trees. It is marvelous that any plant can attain such size in a single season.

One morning I was startled to see a strange animal leap out from the mustard forest and dash along the road in prodigious leaps. I could only think of a kangaroo. I didn't know that a jack rabbit was so different from a cottontail.

Col. Charles G. Finney, son of the Oberlin evangelist, lives here with his family. Charles G. III is one of my pupils. They have a fruit canning establishment.

Each afternoon when I return to my room I find it flooded with an amazing, mysterious rosy light. The red is not reflected from the sky. It is all through the air, unlike anything that I ever saw or heard of before. The Yankee in me always hazards a guess as to the cause of anything unusual. Perhaps the comet of last winter is responsible for the colorful atmosphere.[10] What would it be like, anyway, to pass through the attenuated tail of a heavenly tramp?

November 18.

Harvest time is here and takes me back to Old Testament times. The threshing floor has been made in the field, like that of Arunah the Jebusite. The beans, vines and all are spread on the hardened dirt surface. Horses are driven around and around, frisking their heels in merry fashion threshing the beans.

The human element is supplied by a gang of Chinese under their own overseer. They have tents where they eat and sleep. Sunday afternoon someone proposed that we go down to the field to see the Chinese at their Sunday dinner. Curiosity took us. We were not thinking of them as fellow mortals, but as a new and interesting species. We sat down near the cook tent. When the food was ready, the overseer, with courtly grace, offered each of us a bowl of fragrant steaming rice and chicken, with a pair of clean chopsticks. Not till then did we realize our own impoliteness. We contrasted so unfavorably with this "Heathen Chinee." What if the situation had been reversed and they were sitting under our windows to see the animals eat?

The Olivas family occupy an original Spanish grant of land in this district.[11] They own to some Indian blood, so cannot deny the designation "Greaser." The girls come, three of them on a horse, Manuela, mature and sedate sitting sidewise in maidenly fashion but handsome Josephine and demure Matildalita astride the old white horse. Blue-eyed little brother Nicholas shows traces of some forgotten Spanish Castilian ancestor. His swarthy cousins, however, look almost pure Indian. The school register also has a Lombardo, an Italian, and "Shon Shoseph," a "Portugoose," as Col. Finney calls him.

May, 1884.

Each autumn, if the rains delay a few days, the farmers begin to cry, "Dry year," and pull long faces. They have reason to be apprehensive. A year ago the rainfall in Ventura Co. averaged only 8½ inches. But this past winter has been almost as extreme the other way. Up in the mountains the downpour can be measured by feet instead of inches. The Santa Clara river went on a rampage and was impassable for six weeks during which time we had not a particle of Eastern mail.

Late rains are unwelcome for they start the weeds to growing among the beans. This year, now in May even, we are still having unwelcome showers.

June.

Teachers' Institute is an annual carnival of first importance to us of the fraternity. It is a gathering of congenial souls from all over the county. Most of us are single ladies, young and enthusiastic. One or two are sedate married women, and there is a fair sprinkling of young men. One, not so young but still a bachelor is most interesting. He is well educated, cultured, and quite musical. He belongs to a noted literary family in New England. He delights to appear at these scholastic gatherings without collar or tie and with trousers tucked into cowhide boots. He teaches far-away mountain schools by preference. I am told he practices his profession thirteen months in the year, twenty-four weeks in one district and twenty-eight in another. He is full bearded and that makes him look patriarchal. It is reported that on hot days he leads his students out into primeval temples of learning and encourages them to sprawl in the lap of Mother Earth.[12]

Our evening sessions are open to the public. We have readings and addresses. Our disciple of Thoreau displayed moral courage in his original contribution, one evening. He dealt in matters vital but not often mentioned to ears polite. He told the men that they were more careful in the breeding of their cattle than in that of their own children, and more solicitous for their mares than for their own wives. We inwardly applauded while we outwardly blushed.

The last evening of the Institute is devoted to Terpsichore. The weight of learning in the head in no wise impedes the feet. Our Philosopher strongly disapproves of dancing, not from religious scruples, for, alas, he is an agnostic, but on biological grounds.

My dear friend Amy has a good-looking brother who is quite my ideal of a gentleman. He does not often dance, but when pressed into service he places his hand respectfully on his partner's bustle and dances with chivalry, so different from the abandon of most young people.

San Buena Ventura, July, 1884.

I have been to The City. If you lived in California you would know that I mean San Francisco. No other place dares to usurp that distinctive title. Amy, her brother, and I took the trip together. We went by stage to Santa Barbara to take a steamer larger than the port of San Buena Ventura can accommodate. The grand new steamer, *Queen of the Pacific,* has regal size but lacks queenly dignity. She does not always keep her nose in the air, but buries it occasionally in the briny deep. In spite of determination each of us was a little seasick.

San Francisco is a paradise for transients. Restaurants are numerous and attractive. They give a generous portion of meat, fish, or dessert for ten cents,

with unlimited bread and butter. We laughed at my five cent breakfasts. A cup of coffee with bread and butter was all I wanted. Each noon we fared sumptuously for ten cents apiece, with a three course dinner. One of us ordered fish, another beef, and a third some dessert. Each order was ample for three and the waiters were so accommodating that they brought extra plates without request. I hear authentic reports of homeless men who have lived month after month each with a daily outlay for food of fifteen cents, five for breakfast and ten for dinner.

Our suppers were usually late, after the theatre. We would order scalloped oysters, those tiny Pacific Coast bivalves, too small to be counted. While waiting for this "pan roast," we were served a large dish of boiled shrimps, delicious and not too filling.

We treated ourselves to a vision of the famed Jersey Lily [Lily Langtry] in *Pygmalion and Galatea*. She was exquisite as a marble statue, but in flesh and blood not a whit more beautiful than dear Amy sitting beside me.

We had two evenings of Monte Cristo.[13] The escape of the hero from the death cell might have been more thrilling had not the wooden paddles under the raging sea been so evident. One evening we enjoyed a real comedy, *The Rajah*, by the Madison Square Company.

Our Sabbath was more memorable for its discomforts than for its spiritual uplift. Both morning and evening the ushers did us honor overmuch by taking us to the very front seats. At the morning service we heard a good sermon, witnessed a christening that had many ritualistic embellishments, then, when we fain would have left we were obliged to sit through a strenuous canvass of the audience to pay the church debt.

In the evening we tried a church of a different denomination. Our front seat had the luxurious distinction of an elegant plush cushion. That upholstery was almost my undoing. I remember none of the sermon because of a terrible ordeal by fleas. The church mouse may be hungry as well as poor, but he can't hold his own with a church flea. I can testify that the fleas of the synagogue should serve as types of savage ferocity, and voracity, too. One who has not suffered the torture that I endured cannot know what luxury there is in freedom to scratch.

From the City we went down to San Jose on a narrow gauge railroad that took us through charming scenery with some comparatively "Big Trees." Then we went to Monterey, and from there to Pacific Grove, the incipient West Coast Chautauqua. We occupied one of the tents on the sea shore and kept house with only a coffee pot and a frying pan for kitchen equipment. It was fun. We had leisure for excursions. At nearby Chinatown we bought shells and sea urchins.

On the Glorious Fourth we found suitable niches in the rocks overhanging the sea, and there we sat and read some of the Duchess' laughable stories.[14] The ocean was also in holiday mood and threw its white caps almost to our feet.

We caught star fish, purple and yellow till our porch roof was covered with them, laid out to dry. We also attended a few lectures.

We came home on a small tub of a boat vaingloriously named *Eureka*. She rolled till we could hardly stay in our berths. The Captain's proud boast for his beloved craft, was, "She's such an *easy* roller."

Since returning to San Buena Ventura we have been indulging in sea bathing. I made over my blue tricot traveling dress into a bathing suit, and bought woolen stockings to match. I was very modest so did not stint the length of the skirt. After a first dip I shortened it. I objected to the flapping of the wet folds about my ankles. After each successive bath I repeated the shortening process till now the skirt is well up to my knickerbockered knees.

One morning we saw and heard a young man rush howling out of the water. He had been stung by a stingray and was suffering excruciatingly. An old-timer on the beach quickly took a huge quid of tobacco from his mouth and applied that to the wound.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. The Reverend F. Dwight Seward, who had come to Ventura a few years before, was then pastor of Ventura Presbyterian Church. He was an uncle of Mr. Lester S. Ready, through whose kindness we are permitted to print the letters of his cousin, Mrs. Anna Seward Pruitt.

2. Dr. Thomas L. Magee, his wife, Sarah Elizabeth, and their three sons—Chester Lea (aged 13), Ernest DeLos (aged 11½) and Allyn Claude (aged 7)—on May 29, 1883, left their home in Prairie City, Illinois, where Dr. Magee had settled immediately after the Civil War, in which he had served as surgeon major of the 51st Illinois Volunteers. At Kansas City they boarded an emigrant car which was attached to a freight train of the Santa Fe Railway, and traveled to Deming, New Mexico, where the Santa Fe then ended and where the car was switched to the Southern Pacific. The passengers had to furnish their own bedding and cook on a stove at the end of the car. The Magees were met at Colton by S. R. Magee, Dr. Magee's uncle, the owner of one of the first orange ranches in Riverside, where the newly arrived Magees spent their first two years in California. In June, 1885, the family removed to San Diego.

2a. Miss Seward's opinion of smoking is expressed in a letter from the Grand Hotel, Yokohama, October 17, 1887: "At dinner here I saw, for the first time, gentlemen smoking at table while ladies were still present. I knew, of course, that this is continental custom, so I was not offended. Nevertheless, I object to the aroma of nicotine mixed with my food. Americans certainly do well to ban the custom. Smoking is such a generous vice. Even the most miserly of tobacco devotees is obliged to share his smoke with all his neighbors, whether they like it or not."

3. Roscoe Conkling, a former U. S. Representative and Senator, was a prominent Republican of the day, who frequently appeared in political cartoons and always with a curl in the middle of his forehead.

4. French—*Purgatoire* (Purgatory), so called by the French trappers.

5. "Fink's Springs. . . . Five miles south are twenty-five square miles of mud springs. The first is about 100 yards east of the road, and is cold. Then to the right, from one to six miles, are many springs, both hot and cold. Some are 200 feet in diameter, boiling up as though in a huge caldron, just on a level with the ground. Others are smaller, cone-shaped, rising in some cases 25 feet from the ground, a kind of miniature vol-

canoes. The mud in these springs is much the same consistency as ordinary mush, bubbling up as in a pot, over a slow fire. . . . " (Crofutt's *New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide*, Vol. 2, Chicago, 1879-80, p. 246.)

6. New Jerusalem, on the Santa Clara River, north of Oxnard in Ventura County, is now called El Rio. The old general store still bears the name "New Jerusalem" on the front. Simon Cohn, its proprietor, died within the past year or two, having carried on a general store in the same building all these years.

7. Charles T. Meredith, who was Superintendent of Schools of Ventura County from 1883 to 1891.

7a. Dr. Guiberson.

8. There are two low mounds about a quarter of a mile in diameter, located north and west of Montalvo, which is on the north bank of the Santa Clara River about four miles from Ventura and across the river from El Rio.

9. The Reverend Robert Holland died while crossing the plains with his wife, Isabel ("Granny" Holland) in a covered wagon in 1850. Mrs. Holland was the mother of Mrs. Marion Cannon, at whose home Miss Seward lived while she was teaching at The Mounds, and the grandmother of Mrs. Lena Cannon Walker, of Ventura.

10. The Island of Krakatoa, in the Straits of Sunda, between Java and Sumatra, exploded on August 26, 1883, and was completely destroyed. The volcanic dust encircled the globe and caused this atmospheric phenomenon.

11. Don Raymundo Olivas, the original owner (born in Los Angeles in 1801), came to the vicinity of Ventura in 1821, and on July 6, 1841, received the grant of 4,693 acres which constituted the Rancho San Miguel. The family was large and noted for its generous hospitality. The adobe house is still standing. Rensch, Hero Eugene and Ethel Grace, *Historic Spots in California—The Southern Counties*, Stanford University, 1932, pp. 241-42.

12. A Mr. Drake, who was closely related to Francis Rodman Drake. Mr. Lester S. Ready writes: "The Mr. Drake referred to was well known to my father, who at one time told us of Mr. Drake's ability to work 17 months in one year of 365 days. He taught school in one district 3 months; then in another district 4 months; then back to the first district for a second 3 months; then to the second one for 3 months (4 weeks considered a month), which made 13 months of school, 20 days to a school month. Saturday, he worked on his bee ranch, 26 days being a working month, so he had 2 months there. Sunday, he played the organ in church, although he was an atheist. He donated his services as he enjoyed playing. Sundays counted 2 months more, making the total 17."

13. James O'Neill, the father of Eugene O'Neill, played the title rôle in Alexandre Dumas' *Count of Monte Cristo*.

14. "The Duchess" was the pseudonym of Mrs. Margaret Wolfe (Hamilton) Hungerford, a prolific writer of paper-backed novels with such titles as "Airy Fairy Lilian," "Beauty's Daughters," "Born Coquette," "Life's Remorse," and "Way of a Siren."

"FIGHTING JOE" HOOKER

By Milton H. Shutes

"Fighting Joe" Hooker is a name that brings to mind vague recollections of some United States military hero. To the Grand Army of the Republic and its contemporaries, it was the designation of a popular commander of the great Army of the Potomac. The sobriquet, "Fighting Joe," was originated by a newspaper correspondent and was despised by Hooker himself because it sounded too much like "fighting fool," which he swore he was not. Its inspiration was the courage, determination, and fighting spirit that Brigadier General Hooker displayed at Williamsburg near Richmond on May 5, 1862, when his corps bore the brunt of the battle, and during which he continued to direct his artillery after he was thrown in the mud by his dying horse during a torrent of rain and bullets. "Who ish dat general mit a white horse and a red face?" exclaimed a German-American officer, "He cares nottin' for bullets."[1]

Joseph Hooker, of Sonoma, California, came to be a great division commander and one of the outstanding personalities of the War Between the States.

He was born in Hadley, Massachusetts, on November 13, 1814. His grandfather was Captain Joseph Hooker, who served in the Revolutionary War. He went to Hopkins Academy in Hadley and then to West Point Military Academy, from which he was graduated with William T. Sherman in 1837. Hooker ranked number 29 in his class, Sherman number 9, and Halleck, number 3. After service in the Seminole War in Florida, and along the Canadian border, he was returned to West Point as Adjutant of the Academy. In the Mexican War, he showed his talents under Generals Winfield S. Scott, Zachary Taylor and Persifor F. Smith. After the Battle of Monterey, he was breveted a captain; after that of National Bridge, a major; and after Chapultepec, a lieutenant colonel. He also soldiered with devastating effect among the señoritas of Mexico City, by whom he was known as "El Capitan Hermoso."[2] In fact he was considered the best looking officer in the United States Army—tall, well-physiqued, and handsome of face, with wavy dark bronze hair, pink cheeks, compelling blue eyes, a frank, affable demeanor, and a vigorous, vivid manner of speech—a magnificent young Mars, ready to drink, love, or fight.

At the conclusion of the Mexican War, Hooker remained with General Smith as his adjutant and, with Major E. R. S. Canby and Captain H. R. W. Heath, accompanied him across the Isthmus to ship at Panama City for California. With a swarm of excited 49'ers they boarded the new S. S. *Cali-*

"FIGHTING JOE" HOOKER

From a photograph made in San Francisco in 1872, in the possession of Mr. J. P. Serres, the present owner of the Hooker Ranch.

fornia[3] which was on its maiden voyage from New York to San Francisco—the first American steamship on the Pacific Ocean. Colonel Hooker disembarked at San Diego, ordered there as a member of a federal commission, chairmanned by John B. Weller, to fix the border line between Mexico and California.[4] Four months later, he boarded the new S. S. *Panama*, also on its maiden voyage around the Horn—the third of those three famous new side-wheelers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. On it, he met such famous argonauts as Hall McAllister, William M. Gwin, F. F. Low, and Mrs. John C. Frémont. The steamer reached San Francisco on June 4, 1849.[5]

Hooker immediately rejoined General Smith at Sonoma, where the early American settlers had attempted the formation of a California republic and raised the famous Bear Flag. Here he lived in a house on the southwest corner of the plaza.[6] On the far side of the plaza and across from the Mission San Francisco de Solano was the Blue Wing Tavern where whiskey and poker lured the fun-starved trapper and rancher.[7] It was a place frequently colored by the visits of that black prince of California banditry, Joaquin Murieta. Facing the plaza was the great domicile of General M. G. Vallejo where boarded Lieutenant George Stoneman—later a famous cavalry commander and still later a governor of California.

Army life in California, however, did not thrill Colonel Hooker any more than it did Lieutenants Sherman and Grant. Even the Indians showed scarcely any fight. In a letter to General Riley, Lieutenant Colonel Hooker recommended, concerning a proposed expedition against the Indians at Clear Lake, that citizens should not be permitted to bring captive Indians back as prisoners, for by so doing, this would be used as a pretext to make "servants" of them on their ranchos.[8] Hooker thought that the Indians were more in need of protection than were the settlers.

Soon after Colonel Hooker arrived in Sonoma, he fell, as did Jack London, under the spell of the "Valley of the Moon." With the thought of retirement from the Army in mind, he acquired, in 1851, the title to 550 fertile acres about three miles to the westward of Sonoma. He succeeded also in securing a two-year's leave of absence from the Army.[9] The settlers in Sonoma and in other valleys nearby dreamed of a pleasanter El Dorado than that to be found along the rivers flowing from the Sierra. They saw themselves as Southern planters of California, possessors of large holdings worked by cheap Chinese and Indian labor. Hooker built a snug little house on his farm, of finished lumber that came 'round the Horn, and planted some ten acres in grapes near the site of the Hooker Oaks Service Station on the highway from Sonoma to Santa Rosa.[10]

On February 21, 1853, Hooker resigned his commission in the Army. By training, temperament, and lack of domestic responsibilities he was exactly fitted for army life. His resignation seems to have been a mistake, for he proceeded to fail as a planter, business man, and politician.

The Sonoma planters, as they preferred to call themselves, were unskilled in the art of viticulture and their wine proved unpalatable. Hooker tried to grow potatoes, but potatoes did better at Bodega on the coast. His one recorded business venture ended in the courts. With the help of his military connections, he received a contract from the Army to furnish cord-wood for the arsenal at Benicia and for the Presidio at San Francisco—at $15 a cord. He managed to scow 585 cords down the creek to the Bay. Hooker furnished the scow and contracted to pay one Peter Albertson $3,000 to make the deliveries. But Peter and vigorous Joe did not get along. Because Peter received only $1,800, he attached Hooker's fourteen yoke of oxen. The court compelled Hooker to pay Peter $802 more, allowing him $398, however, for damage to the scow that resulted from Peter's alleged carelessness. Even so there was room for a nice profit.[11]

On one more occasion Hooker was brought into court. This time it was a little matter of a gambling debt. He had signed over a note for $485 to a fellow bon-vivant who passed it on to a third party. Hooker refused to acknowledge the note, and the judge sustained his contention that the transferred note was non-negotiable and therefore uncollectible in court.[12]

By 1853, the markets were glutted, the prices of produce dropped, and the cost of labor rose.[13] Hooker decided to sell out. First, as required by the Federal Land Commission, the title to his rancho must be confirmed. He filed claim on March 2, 1853, to his portion of the Lazaro Peña Agua Caliente grant in Sonoma township. He gave an option to purchase his farm to a valley settler, but later George E. Watriss of San Francisco, who liked the springs, fine trees, and wild game on the place, desired it. Hooker agreed to meet him in San Francisco at the office of John Parrott, the banker, on the last day of his neighbor's option. He held his watch in hand until the option expired at noon, then turned to Mr. Watriss and said, "It's twelve o'clock, my word has been fulfilled, the place is yours."[14] Mr. Watriss took over the farm and its three liens, each bearing two per cent monthly interest, and built a substantial stone home on it.[15] By some arrangement Hooker continued to occupy the cottage he had built.

During the same year (1853) he was elected county road overseer.[16] This introduced him into local politics, in which he succeeded only in playing a prominent part in what is said to be one of the fondest traditions of Sonoma County—the kidnaping of the county seat from the town of Sonoma and removing it to Santa Rosa. The affair was intimately involved in the race for the office of State assemblyman between Hooker and Lindsay Carson (brother of Kit Carson) on the Democratic ticket, and Judge Robert Hopkins and James M. Bennett, of Bennett Valley, on the Settlers ticket. The latter was a short-lived party based on the peculiarly trying disputes over land titles, but at the time it was a strong one. Hooker was popular, and the campaign which involved the county seat issue grew very bitter. The elec-

tion of September 7, 1853, resulted in a tie. In the second election, held on October 29, Hooker and Carson—through the importation of voters, it was charged—lost the race by thirteen votes. On March 28, 1854, a bill to transfer the county seat to Santa Rosa was passed by the State Legislature. After considerable delay through the serving of injunctions against the transfer, a few impatient Santa Rosans made a very swift and stealthy transfer of the county records during a dark midnight hour.[17]

Hooker continued to live on the farm near Sonoma until 1858, when he was appointed superintendent of military roads in Oregon. He built the road from Scottsburg to Cañon City and farther south, which for a long time was known as the Hooker road.[18] A year later (1859-1861) he was made a colonel in the California militia,[19] in which Henry W. Halleck was a brigadier general. Because of this, it was thought, began the robust animosity each had for the other. Hooker was long remembered as the handsome plumed commander of an encampment of militia at the State Fair at Sacramento.[20]

In 1860, came the nomination and election of the Lincoln-Hamlin ticket and threats of war. The war talk was of more interest to Democrat Hooker than was the Republican victory. By spring he had gathered a regiment of volunteers and drilled them until he learned that California regiments were not to be accepted for enlistment in the East. Then he offered his personal services, but Lieutenant General Scott, "Old Fuss and Feathers," had not forgotten an unguarded criticism of himself by Hooker in Mexico.[21] Hooker's petitions were ignored. The restive Californian decided to see to the matter himself. Because he lacked sufficient funds for the trip to Washington, $1,000 was given him by one or more of his blue-chip tavern friends.[22]

When Hooker arrived in San Francisco, he received a formal invitation from his fellow officers of the State Militia to a dinner in his honor (May 20, 1861) at the American Exchange. The invitation was signed by Brigadier General H. W. Halleck and others. But Colonel Hooker was very busy preparing to sail the next day. In a cordially worded note, he begged to be excused, as he needed every moment for preparation. "I go," he wrote them, "with a will and a purpose to prove my faith in and devotion to, the Union, and to find a place, however humble. . . ."[23]

Joseph Hooker was never humble; possibly he really meant to be so in that hour of emotion. When he reached Washington, there was no commission, "however humble," for him, nor was there one in prospect. Like Grant he went begging. He even got his credentials before President Lincoln, who wrote the following notation to General J. K. F. Mansfield then in command in Washington: "The enclosed papers of Colonel Joseph Hooker speak for themselves. He desires to have command of a regiment. Ought he to have it, and can it be done and how? Please consult General Scott, and say if he and you would like Colonel Hooker to have a command."[24]

But Lieutenant General Scott, of course, did not "like" Colonel Hooker to have a command. After repeated failures, Hooker faced the prospect of a humiliating return to California. In desperation he went with a friend to the White House, where everyone seemed to take his troubles "to the President"—ostensibly just a friendly sort of call before he started homeward.

President Lincoln seemed always to be glad to see a Californian. The President apparently took a quick liking to Hooker, for he was built on the pattern of Lincoln's swashbuckling friend, Ward Lamon—big, rosy cheeked, vivid, assertive, intelligent and full of self-confidence—a handsome D'Artagnan. He and Lamon were almost everything that Lincoln was not, and for that reason were unconsciously attractive to him. The readers of the California papers later enjoyed in the "Letter from St. Louis," the story of what is commonly related as Hooker's first meeting with President Lincoln.

Hooker was eyewitness to the public show of the battle of Bull Run in July. A few days later, he made his call on President Lincoln and was introduced as "Captain." It was his last opportunity.

> Mr. President, I am not Captain Hooker, but I once was Lieutenant Colonel Hooker in the regular Army. I was lately a farmer in California, but since the Rebellion broke out I have been here trying to get into the service, and I find that I am not wanted. I am about to return home, but before going I was anxious to pay my respects to you, and to express my wishes for your personal welfare and success in quelling this Rebellion. And I want to say one word more. I was at Bull Run the other day, Mr. President, and it is no vanity in me to say that I am a damned sight better general than any you had on that field.[25]

Very soon after, Hooker was made a colonel of volunteers and proceeded with such efficiency in organizing a very large regiment of raw New England troops stationed at Bladenburg, Maryland, that by September he was made a brigadier general, and his commission antedated to May 17, 1861.[26]

Commenting later on that meeting, Lincoln said that "his eye was steady and clear—his manner not half so confident as his words, . . . he had the air of a man of sense and intelligence, who thoroughly believed in himself. I was impressed. . . . In every position in which he has been put, General Hooker has equaled the expectations which his self-confidence excited."[27] Though this was said before the battle of Chancellorsville (May, 1863), Lincoln had good reason to place confidence in Hooker, for he became one of the very best assault leaders in the whole Army. He was what Lincoln liked—an impetuous attacker and a desperate fighter.

Clarence E. Macartney has suggested that "there must have been something in common between these two men, recognized by the acute Lincoln at the very first encounter, for Lincoln was more intimate with Hooker, talked with him more, than with any other commander of the Army of the Potomac."[28] And Gideon Welles, Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, wrote that "the President . . . has a personal liking for Hooker and clings to him when

others give way"; also that "the President has been partial to Hooker in all this time. . . ."[29]

In the Army of the Potomac Hooker fought intelligently and courageously through one campaign after another under McClellan, Pope, and Burnside, until January, 1863, when he himself was placed in command of the Army of the Potomac to face Lee and Jackson. There was considerable division of opinion about placing him in so responsible a position. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, was a powerful backer, and others were likewise urging Hooker as the man to succeed Burnside. Grant and Sherman were still busy at Vicksburg and not yet recognized for their real abilities. Halleck, of course, was opposed to Hooker, and others hesitated to offer a favorable opinion of him. They recalled the battle on the Peninsula at Williamsburg when Hooker's enthusiasm had mounted to rashness; he was accused of withholding honest support to Burnside in the ghastly failure at Fredericksburg; and he had just rashly criticized the President himself, suggesting that what the country sorely and immediately needed was a dictator.

Lincoln, however, saw the good in Hooker and hopefully placed him in command. With all his faults he might be just the man; McClellan was a great organizer but not an enthusiastic fighter, while Hooker was both. Still, Lincoln was a bit uneasy and not unmindful of Hooker's criticism of himself. He wrote his new commander a remarkable letter that has been frequently quoted in books on Lincoln and is now famous as characteristically Lincoln-like and very revealing both of himself and of Hooker. It is a clear and frank statement of opinion, commending Hooker for his virtues, but letting him know that his faults were recognized and that he feared rashness as the greatest of them.

General: I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course I have done this upon what appear to me sufficient reasons, and yet I think it is best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable if not an indispensable quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the Army you have taken counsel of your ambition and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the army and the government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this, but in spite of this, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up as dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all its commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticizing their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get

any good out an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.[30]

That letter doubtlessly deepened the pink in Hooker's cheeks. Yet he reacted just as Lincoln hoped he would. Hooker's first comment was, "He talks to me like a father." He then swore that he would never answer that letter until he had given Lincoln a great victory or could address him from Richmond.[31] The letter was never answered, of course; but at the time, it stirred and steadied him.

With his elevation to the command of the Army of the Potomac, Hooker immediately set about reorganizing Burnside's beaten, dispirited army. He first put a stop to desertion and its causes by instituting a new system of furloughs; he adopted a system of distinctive badges for the different corps so they could be easily recognized; and he abolished the nuisance of the Grand Divisions.[32] In his administrative work, he used a forceful manner of speech and writing and was given to epigrammatic sentences such as, "No one will consider the duties of the day as ended until the duties that it brings have been discharged." But the best piece of reorganization showed itself in the cavalry service. "Whoever heard of a dead cavalryman,"[33] was Hooker's famous caustic comment before he proceeded to consolidate the cavalry under an able leader and whip the commands into real fighting battle units. From the time that he took command, the superiority of the Confederate cavalry disappeared. The Union cavalry under Generals Pleasanton and Stoneman began to meet their opponents on equal terms. Within the month, Hooker had transformed a broken and utterly discouraged army into an efficient and compact one of 100,000 well-drilled infantry, 1,200 well-equipped cavalry, and 400 well-oiled guns. But above all, he had so instilled it with his own enthusiasm that it wholly survived the battle of Chancellorsville without even the consciousness of defeat, and then went right on to win at Gettysburg. Hooker did a splendid job; the army knew it and showed it by their cheers as he passed along the lines. All this plus his past record, his frank manner, and his fine soldierly appearance gained him a great popularity in the army and throughout the country.

For a while California was inordinately proud of its soldier. A big white thoroughbred stallion bought in New Orleans was presented to him "by some California friends" as coming from the California boys in his army.[34] A San Francisco harness firm—Main and Winchester—gave him an elaborately complete set of "horse trappings" and a complete parade and campaign outfit for himself. The latter was made up of everything "that the heart of a California rider could desire."[35]

Previous to this, before Hooker had reached top place in the Army of the Potomac, California admirers had subscribed $2,000 for a dress sword which was made by John W. Tucker, a well-known jeweler of San Fran-

cisco. When the sword was finished it was learned that a commanding general could not receive so costly a gift from a group of individuals or any ordinary civic body. It became necessary that the State officially present the sword; it was sent to Sacramento and remained on display at the Capital until the Legislature passed a resolution to purchase and present it to the popular hero.[36] On its blade was engraved: "Presented to Major General Joseph Hooker, of the State of California, in token of his distinguished bravery in the Battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, Glendale, Malvern Hills, Bull Run, Germantown, South Mountain and Antietam."[37]

California was proud of Fighting Joe—its Number One soldier—for California, like Hooker, was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war and believed in fighting it out to the end. So the Legislature passed (March 23, 1863) a "concurrent resolution" of recognition of the "favor reflected on the state by his splendid services" and conveyed to him an expression of its satisfaction and confidence. Hooker sent his thanks, and wrote that his name was listed in the Army Register as a representative of his adopted State and that next to an honorable record and complete success of his fighting cause, he could esteem nothing higher than California's good opinion of the manner in which he had performed his duties.[38]

Early in April of '63, the revitalized army was ready for inspection. The President, Mrs. Lincoln, their son, "Tad," Attorney-General Bates, and three guests from the Pacific Coast—Dr. A. G. Henry, of Washington Territory; Captain Crawford, of Oregon; and Noah Brooks, of the Sacramento *Union*—paid a memorable visit to Hooker and his army at Falmouth, Virginia. While on guard duty in Washington, the California boys had seen Lincoln; now they saw him in the new saddle from San Francisco, astride Hooker's big brown horse, with the commanding General sitting handsomely at the President's left on the big white one.

Lincoln was impressed with Hooker's army, but Brooks reminds us that he was a little concerned over Hooker's too oft repeated remark "when we take Richmond," and confidentially said to Brooks, "This is the most depressing thing about Hooker. It seems to me that he is over confident." Brooks also wrote that when Lincoln heard that Hooker had said with that magnificent air of his, in reference to the famous Lincoln-to-Hooker letter, "After I have been to Richmond I shall have the letter published in the newspapers. It will be amusing." Lincoln's comment was, "Poor Hooker! I'm afraid he is incorrigible."[39]

Yet Lincoln's misgivings were submerged in a great hope. He liked Hooker personally and he liked his proven fighting qualities and military smartness, so much so that he was ready to risk his egotism, jealousies, and rashness. He knew Hooker was about to oppose Lee with a battle plan that was, and still is, considered a superb one. Hooker swore to his officers, "My plans are perfect—may God have mercy on General Lee for I will have

none!"[40] And some of his staff called it "a masterpiece." But Lincoln was profoundly anxious. He was in desperate need of a victory. He wanted every man in the Army of the Potomac to feel his own and the battle's importance. That is why he and his entourage went to Falmouth for that impressive Grand Review.

Hooker had a splendid plan for the victory, "simple, bold, and practical"—a concededly brilliant arrangement—and then spoilt it. In a terrible moment of bewildered consciousness of his tremendous responsibility, he faltered; the glorious victory that should have been his went to Robert E. Lee. Hooker's greatest weakness, after all, was not the rashness that Lincoln feared; it was Hooker's unsuspected fear of himself.

By the end of April, Hooker began his well-thought-out movement which culminated in the Battle of Chancellorsville. The story of the battle is recorded in many books. General Lee beat a brilliant sure-fire scheme and a splendid army of 100,000 men with his 60,000. Hooker lost 16,000 soldiers, and Lee lost 12,000 and the great Stonewall Jackson; but Lee won the battle that Hooker was sure he himself would win, that he could and should have won, had he not faltered. Some said that Hooker was wounded, some said that he was drunk, but Hooker himself said that he was not hit by a shell, and he was not drunk, but, "For once I lost confidence in Hooker," he confessed, "and that is all there is to it."[41] And that was honest.

So hopeful and so eager for a victory that he had a right to anticipate, Lincoln was never so anguished with disappointment and discouragement. Noah Brooks said:

> I shall never forget that picture of despair. He held a telegram in his hand, and as he closed the door and came towards us, I mechanically noticed that his face, usually sallow, was ashen in hue. The paper on the wall behind him was of the tint known as "French gray," and even in that moment of sorrow and dread expectation I vaguely took in the thought that the complexion of the anguished President's visage was almost exactly like that of the wall. He gave me the telegram and in a voice trembling with emotion, said, "Read it—news from the army." (The telegram was from Hooker's chief-of-staff, Butterfield, confirming the rumor that the army had retreated across the river.) The appearance of the President as I read aloud those fateful words, was piteous. Never, as long as I knew him, did he seem so broken up, so dispirited and so ghostlike. Clasping his hands behind his back, he walked up and down the room, saying, "My God, my God, what will the country say! What will the country say!"[42]

William O. Stoddard, Lincoln's No. 3 Private Secretary, wrote that it "was an awful day in Washington." Letters that he had to inspect, from friend and foe, told of discontent, anger and despondency. John Hay, Secretary No. 2, stuck his head in the door and announced that Stanton had said that "this is the darkest hour of the war." It was 9:00 P. M. when Seward, Stanton, Halleck and others walked slowly out of Lincoln's room, leaving him alone with his thoughts. Young Stoddard worked at his desk signing the President's name to land title documents until three in the morning and

all the while the pacing of the President's sentry-like feet sounded in his ears.[43]

The next morning Lincoln, with General Halleck, hurried to Hooker's headquarters by steamer and carriage through a pouring rain. There he found things not so sorry as he feared.[44] Hooker was still looking fit and confident and he had rescued his army intact. His entire First Corps under General Reynolds did not get into the fight at all. When Hooker realized that Lee and Jackson had "out-foxed" him, he wisely, or unwisely, withdrew his forces. Though it was a terrible blow to the North, Lincoln encouraged Hooker; he wanted Hooker to move, urging him to outline another campaign. "If you have not [a plan] please inform me, so that I, incompetent as I may be, can try and assist in some plan for the army."[45]

Robert E. Lee, himself, helped furnish the plan as, at last on the offensive, he thrust his advance deep into Pennsylvania. Hooker correctly predicted Lee's intentions and formed his plan, which became a campaign of skillful and efficient movement that maneuvered Lee into position at Gettysburg. He actually predicted two weeks in advance that the little town of Gettysburg would mark the location of the coming battle![46] Hooker "seemed to have recovered all that keenness of insight and steadiness of judgment which was obscured for a while at Chancellorsville."[47]

As the two great forces, the Army of the Potomac under Hooker and the Army of Northern Virginia under Lee, were about to meet again, Lincoln and the military leaders realized that the coming battle would be a great and decisive one. Lincoln was again terribly uneasy. His heavy feet continued to wear down the red roses in his Brussels carpet when he should have been asleep. The Federal Army must win this time; the North and all that he was passionately striving for needed it badly. Though appreciative of Hooker's skill and propitious position and the healthy spirit of his army, the sunken eyes of the President were dulled with foreboding. He feared the calm, sagacious, victory-minded Lee.

The relations between Hooker and General-in-Chief Halleck had become unendurable. The instinctive dislike between them that dated from the early days in California had developed into an active antipathy. Hooker knew that Halleck opposed his advancement in command, and Hooker's retaliatory caustic comments returned promptly to Halleck's ears. Also the friendly and direct communications between Lincoln and Hooker greatly annoyed Halleck. And every act of each was misunderstood by the other.[48]

As the impending contact with Lee approached, Hooker showed signs of nervousness in his requests for reinforcements. He especially asked for the 11,000 soldiers which he considered as unnecessarily held at Harper's Ferry. When General Halleck at Washington refused his request, Hooker, in a great pet resigned his command as an act of protest. The public joined Hooker's criticism of Halleck's unreasonable act. The *Alta California*

printed an article entitled "Halleck's Key," which it picked from Hooker's published question, "What is the use of holding the key after the door is smashed?" Lee had no more use for Harper's Ferry, so why keep 11,000 needed soldiers guarding it? In it the *Alta* condemned Halleck and did not fail to recall that Halleck had given the Harper's Ferry force to General Meade when he had asked for it.[49]

To Hooker's apparent surprise and chagrin—possibly to his secret relief—Lincoln promptly accepted his resignation (June 27). Lincoln held that any general who resigns his command on the eve of battle should always have his resignation accepted.[50] Certain ones in Washington believed that Lincoln adroitly created the situation which compelled Hooker's resignation.

Whatever Hooker's disappointment may have been, he accepted Lincoln's order with dignity. Awakened from sleep in the dead of night by his successor, General Meade, and Colonel James A. Hardie, Lincoln's messenger, he congratulated Meade in his usual affable manner and assisted him in taking over the command. In the morning, he formally introduced General Meade to the amazed Army of the Potomac, complimented him to it as a brave and accomplished officer and said that his sorrow at leaving was relieved by the conviction that the army would yield to his successor, "a willing and hearty support." "With the earnest prayer that the triumph of its arms may bring success worthy of it and the nation, I bid it farewell." After an emotional good-bye to officer friends, he boarded "the cars" for Baltimore.[51]

Meade took over the army and followed Hooker's line of campaign: he even asked for and obtained most of the troops at Harper's Ferry and went on to win at Gettysburg.

After impatiently waiting three days for orders at Baltimore, Hooker proceeded to Washington, where he was immediately placed under arrest by General Halleck for visiting the Capital without leave.[52] It was an act that Secretaries Nicolay and Hay characterized as "entirely legal but most ungracious."[53] The public thought so too. Intensely devoted to the cause of the Federal Government, Hooker showed no signs of soreheadedness. His one thought was to get back into the fight. Anxious to participate in the battle he had looked forward to, he asked President Lincoln for General Meade's Fifth Corps in the Army of the Potomac.[54] General Meade sympathetically expressed a willingness to accept him, but on second thought changed his mind. So Lincoln had to tell Hooker that he was not wanted; the embarrassment, it was said, was all on Lincoln's side. Hooker understood, and though he loved personal glory he refused to sulk in his tent; and Lincoln believed "that he was too good a man to throw away just because he missed fire once."[55]

Hooker was kept busy in Washington during August writing the report of his last campaign.[56] When an urgent call for help from General Rosecrans came after his defeat at Chickamauga (Sept. 19, 1864), Hooker was

given the survivors of the Eleventh and Twelfth Corps of the Army of the Potomac to form the Twentieth Corps and hurried west. He and his army of 20,000 were transported from the Rapidan River to Washington and thence to Nashville within eight days—a remarkable piece of administrative work on the part of Hooker, his staff, and the railroads, which pleased and astonished the President.[57] Hooker, on arrival, quickly merged his corps into the Army of the Cumberland under the great General George H. Thomas, for whom Hooker had a great admiration. With his veterans, he won new laurels at Chattanooga as he fought his picturesque "Battle Above the Clouds" on Lookout Mountain, and helped Generals Grant, Sherman and Thomas win the victory of Missionary Ridge in the Atlanta Campaign.

When Major General James R. McPherson, able commander of the Army of the Tennessee, was killed (July 23, 1864), Sherman recommended General O. O. Howard, a junior major general under Hooker, to succeed him. This was too much for Hooker who, as the logical successor to McPherson, felt that he had earned the right to his place; and, doubtful of receiving fair treatment from Sherman, he asked to be relieved of his command. "Justice and self-respect alike require my removal from an army in which rank and service are ignored," he said.[58] Sherman wrote home, "I don't regret it; . . . knowing him intimately I honestly preferred Howard."[59] "In this manner General Hooker retired from active service in the field. . . . In the country at large he never lost his popularity, which was founded on a basis of brilliant abilities and honorable service, and gained the final touch of splendid legend in the 'Battle Above the Clouds'."[60] On July 30, 1864, nine months before the war's end, he was placed in command of the Northern Department at Cincinnati. In that city, the handsome fifty year old bachelor, met and later (October 3, 1865) married Miss Olivia Groesback, the sister of a prominent Congressman.[61]

During September, 1864, Hooker was in New York and attended a great Union League meeting at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Always popular with the public, his appearance on the platform "started an outburst of enthusiasm that that building had never before witnessed." One article reporting the affair was entitled "Rapturous Reception of Fighting Joe Hooker." The crowd, one-third of whom were women, sprang involuntarily to their feet and cheered. "The hero of many battles bowed his acknowledgement and after repeated calls, responded in a brief speech." He said that "the government has been slow, the people have been fast and have led the government, but the latter has come along. . . ." Here was a chance to say a generous word for the President whose re-election was soon coming up and who had personally and repeatedly given Hooker opportunity. Yet all that he was reported to have added was, "—and on the whole has done tolerably well."[62]

Hooker soon came to realize that the Government had done more than tolerably well as he witnessed the Nation's grief from Lincoln's funeral train. He was in command, as grand marshal of the funeral parade in Springfield, Illinois, from the old State Capitol building to the hillside vault in Woodlawn Cemetery.[63]

On his return from Springfield, he was stationed in New York City in command of the Department of the East, and a year later (August 23, 1866), in Detroit, in command of the Department of the Lakes. Here his army career was brought to an end by a stroke of apoplexy. With partial recovery and a leave of absence, he and his wife—also ailing—sought European spas. They soon returned—he was no better and she was worse. He petitioned for retirement, which was granted October 15, 1868, with full rank of major general. In the same year (on July 15) his wife died, three years after the marriage.

By 1872, General Hooker was well enough to visit California. Though the once splendid specimen was broken physically, he wanted to see California again and his old haunts—the ranch, the plaza and the Blue Wing Tavern at Sonoma. The city of Vallejo, especially, made preparations for a great reception. He entered it by the old Sulphur Springs Road and was met like a returning conqueror by the Society of California Pioneers, the G. A. R. and other organizations. It was a big day. During a speech, he took the opportunity to censure the Government's treatment of the people of the South; he considered the southern people then as he did when fighting them, "brave brethren equalled nowhere on earth." In the afternoon, he left the celebrating city for his former home in Sonoma.[64] He stayed with Mr. Watriss on his old farm. Mr. Watriss told the present owner of the place that Hooker enjoyed recalling old times in Sonoma County and showed signs of emotion as he saw reminders of his former physical vigor. He also related how the General was forever explaining the Battle of Chancellorsville.

For five years more, General Hooker lived on—a broken, querulous old man, whose favorite topic was his complaint against Sherman, Meade and McClellan.[65] Living alone in the Garden City Hotel at Garden City, Long Island, with faithful "Tom," his colored valet, attending him, "Fighting Joe" Hooker died suddenly at the age of 64 after thirteen years of partial paralysis.[66] His large military funeral was held in the Presbyterian Church in Madison Square, New York City, and his body was laid away beside that of his wife, in Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati.[67] At the head of his casket there was "a rich floral pillow from California," on which purple buds spelled "California Pioneers" against a white background.[68]

Hooker left a handsome fortune—stocks, bonds and Cincinnati real estate, but no memoirs or letters; nothing from himself to question the criticisms of his contemporaries or historians. The literature of the War contains for Hooker both blame and praise. One cannot resist the feeling of regret that

was expressed by Secretaries Nicolay and Hay over Hooker's loss of the command of the Army of the Potomac:

> He had never exhibited more vigor and ability, more insight and capacity, than in this fortnight which preceded his resignation. Every step of the way from Falmouth to Frederick he had known when to move and when to halt, when to strike and when to refrain from striking. When he was relieved he was on his way to the very point where Lee considered his armor the weakest. If he had remained in command, with his clearness of vision and boldness of planning, joined with that impetuosity of attack which he showed on every occasion except once in his life, it is easy to imagine what splendid results he might have accomplished for the cause he had so intensely at heart.[69]

He possessed, however, certain unfortunate habits of conduct that dragged him down from the spot of opportunity on which Abraham Lincoln had deliberately and hopefully placed him. Hooker loved his liquor, but no more, perhaps, than did Grant and Sheridan and other successful leaders.[70] Other generals possessed an appetite for military glory that expressed itself too often at the expense of their commanding officers and even of the battle itself, but "The most indiscreet and outspoken of all was naturally General Hooker, whose words always readily 'escaped the fence of his teeth'."[71] He was too quick with censure and criticism; much of it open and sincere but unnecessary, very imprudent, and actually harmful. And in addition to these traits of which Lincoln was long aware, Hooker possessed a fatal trick of character, a defective mechanism of the subconscious, that sent an inhibitory impulse to his self-confidence and the "Fighting Joe" spirit which, at the great moment of consummation of a brilliant approach, caused him to falter. This was expressed by General Stoneman who said that Hooker was the most brilliant of all the generals up to a certain point, but when his limitations were reached he was utterly helpless; that he, Stoneman, had been in Sonoma with Hooker and knew him thoroughly. "He could play the best game of poker I ever saw until it came to the point when he should go a thousand better, and then he would flunk."[72]

If Lincoln had not placed Hooker in supreme command against so great a combination as Lee and Jackson, Hooker might have been another Howard or a Sheridan; but the failure at Chancellorsville cost him his aura of fame. Yet he was one of the top generals of the Northern Armies with a record of real contribution to the success of the Federal cause. On the debit side of the ledger is Chancellorsville; yet one might contend that by his reorganization and handling of the great Army of the Potomac before and after that battle, he compensated for his own and even for Burnside's defeat. Certainly the army he turned over to Meade was a far better one than either he or Burnside received. On the credit side, remains his brilliant record as a subordinate general. As commander of the Army of the Potomac, there should be remembered the record of his quick grasp of the critical situation, in which he found himself confronted by Lee's northern push into Pennsylvania, which threatened Washington, and the superb maneuvering of his army into its

favorable position for the decisive Battle of Gettysburg. Congress seemed to think so for it "resolved," with enthusiasm:

That the gratitude of the American people and the thanks of their representatives in Congress, are due, and are hereby tendered to Major-General Joseph Hooker, and the officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, for the skill, energy and endurance which first covered Washington and Baltimore from the meditated blow of the advancing and powerful army of rebels led by General Robert E. Lee, and to Major-General George G. Meade, Major-General Oliver O. Howard, and the officers and soldiers of that army, for the skill and heroic valor which at Gettysburg repulsed, defeated and drove back, broken and dispirited, beyond the Rappahannock, the veteran army of the rebellion.[78]

There is an equestrian statue of Hooker in front of the State House in Boston, but in California nothing is dedicated to his memory other than a small and inadequately dated bronze tablet by the highway, marking his home and farm near historic Sonoma.

NOTES

1. Blake, Henry N., *Three Years in the Army of the Potomac,* Boston, 1865, p. 136.
2. Macartney, Clarence Edward, *Lincoln and His Generals,* Philadelphia, 1926, p. 138.
3. Crosby, Elisha O., MS of reminiscences, in possession of Harold C. Holmes, Oakland.
4. "A California Hero," *Alta California,* June 29, 1862. Hereafter referred to as *Alta.*
5. Eldredge, Zoeth Skinner, *History of California,* III, 210.
6. [Munro-Fraser, J. P.,] *History of Sonoma County,* S. F.: Alley, Bowen & Co., 1880, pp. 445-46. It was the house of Jacob Leese wherein lived General Persifor F. Smith, Colonel Joseph Hooker, Major Phil Kearny, and Captains Stone and Stoneman.
7. Statement on plaque attached to present structure which was once the Blue Wing Tavern.
8. Hittell, Theodore H., *History of California,* S. F., 1897, III, 897.
9. Letter from J. Hooker to Brigadier General R. Jones, dated Sonoma, Dec. 29, 1851, in the possession of the author.
10. As told by George Watriss to John P. Serres, present owner of the "Hooker Ranch."
11. San Francisco *Examiner,* June 24, 1921, p. 10. Information therein credited to Superior Judge Emmet Seawell.
12. *Ibid.*
13. San Francisco *Herald,* Oct. 31, 1853, and *Alta,* Nov. 11, 1853.
14. Watriss to Serres.
15. *History of Sonoma County, op. cit.,* pp. 143-44.
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid. Examiner, op. cit.*
18. Bancroft, *History of Oregon,* San Francisco, 1888, II, 306.
19. Bancroft, however, states that Hooker was living in the Rogue River Valley in Oregon, when the Civil War broke out. Biographical footnote in *History of Oregon, op. cit.*
20. San Francisco *Bulletin,* Nov. 1, 1879.
21. " . . . in the disloyalty of General Pillow to General Scott at the end of the war, Hooker by giving testimony in favor of Pillow, incurred the enmity of Scott." *Dictionary of American Biography,* IX, 197.
22. Macartney, *op. cit.,* p. 121.
23. *Alta,* May 21, 1861.

24. Seitz, Don C., *Lincoln the Politician,* N. Y., 1931, p. 260.
25. *Alta,* Feb. 28, 1863.
26. Barton, William E., *President Lincoln,* Indianapolis, 1933, II, 515.
27. *Alta,* Feb. 28, 1863.
28. Macartney, *op. cit.,* p. 137.
29. *The Diary of Gideon Welles,* Boston & N. Y., 1911, I, 229.
30. Nicolay, John George, and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln: A History,* N. Y., 1890, VII, 88. For a further discussion of Hooker's appointment, see article signed "Z," "General Hooker's Appointment and Removal," in *Century Magazine,* XXXIII, 106-11 (November, 1886).
31. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.* "That is just such a letter as a father might write to a son. It is a beautiful letter, and although I think he was harder on me than I deserved, I will say that I love the man who wrote it." Tarbell, Ida M., *The Life of Abraham Lincoln,* N. Y., 1900, VIII, 136.
32. Swinton, William, *Campaign of the Army of the Potomac,* N. Y., 1866, p. 268.
33. Macartney, *op. cit.,* p. 146.
34. San Francisco *Bulletin,* May 8 and May 15, 1863.
35. *Alta,* Jan. 26, 1863; May 8, 29, and 30, 1863.
36. *Alta,* Feb. 24, 1863. Popular subscription for the sword was begun in September, 1862. *Alta,* Sept. 21, 1862.
37. *Alta,* Feb. 28, 1863. This issue also contained eleven verses on "The Gallant Fighting Joe."
38. *Alta,* March 23, 1863; Hittell, *op. cit.,* IV, 371.
39. Brooks, Noah, *Abraham Lincoln, A Biography for Young People,* N. Y., 1888, pp. 373-74. Hooker told some of his staff officers that God Almighty could not prevent him from winning a victory, and when he told Lincoln that he would either win a victory or be in hell, Lincoln suggested that he "carry plenty of water along." *Reminiscences of Winfield S. Hancock,* N. Y., 1887, p. 94.
40. *Dict. of Amer. Biog.,* N. Y., 1928, IX, 196.
41. Macartney, *op. cit.,* p. 154.
42. Brooks, Noah, *Washington in Lincoln's Time,* N. Y., 1895, p. 57.
43. Stoddard, William O., *Abraham Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life,* N. Y., 1884, p. 386.
44. Secretary of War Stanton telegraphed Governor Stanford, "There has been no serious disaster to the organization and efficiency of the army." S. F. *Bulletin,* May 8, 1863. The *Bulletin* reassured its readers that Hooker's demonstration was not a defeat, merely a failure.
45. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* VII, 198.
46. *A Biographical Memorial of General Daniel Butterfield,* N. Y., 1904, p. 332, footnote.
47. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* VII, 223.
48. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* VII, 213.
49. *Alta,* July 3, 1863; S. F. *Bulletin,* Aug. 14, 1863. "Even if it were the key to Maryland, of what value was the key after the door was smashed in." Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* VII, 225.
50. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* VII, 228. See also, "Hooker's Appointment and Removal," *Century Magazine, loc. cit.*
51. *The Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1863,* N. Y., 1866, III, 102; S. F. *Bulletin,* July 22, 1863.
52. Coffin, Charles Carlton, *Marching to Victory,* N. Y., 1889, p. 190.
53. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* p. 227.
54. Butterfield, *op. cit.,* VII, 332.
55. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* LX, p. 278.
56. Butterfield, *op. cit.,* p. 135.
57. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.,* VIII, 112; Bates, David Homer, *Lincoln in the Telegraph Office,* N. Y., 1907. "A Remarkable Feat in Railroad Transportation," Chapter XIII, pp. 172-82.

58. *Dict. of Amer. Biog., op. cit.*, IX, 196.
59. *Home Letters of General Sherman*, N. Y., 1909, p. 303.
60. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 278.
61. *Alta*, Nov. 20, 1865.
62. New York *Tribune*, Sept. 23, 1864.
63. Broadside of Order of Funeral Procession. Original in possession of author.
64. *Alta*, June 27, 1872.
65. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, IX, 278.
66. *Alta*, Nov. 14, 1879.
67. Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Nov. 2, 1879.
68. *Alta*, Nov. 8, 1879. Pall-bearers were such prominent men as Generals Hancock, Butterfield and Doubleday, John Jacob Astor, and Charles L. Tiffany. *Alta*, Nov. 6, 1879.
69. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, VII, 228.
70. In a letter to an intimate friend dated July 20, 1863, General Butterfield, Hooker's chief-of-staff, wrote concerning him: "I don't know what kind of a sot he is reported to be. I have been with him almost daily since October last up to the date of his being relieved, and I have failed to discover any signs of drunkenness in him. Had I found it to be the case, I should certainly have asked to be relieved from his staff. I found him ever vigilant, faithful and true to his country and his army—a truer patriot than Hooker never breathed." Butterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 132. In 1895, in a speech at a reunion at Chattanooga, General Butterfield referred to certain "reckless statements of his [Hooker's] personal habits and character. From a long service with him and every opportunity to judge and know by personal observation, I denounce these statements as false. The time has come when his old comrades and those who knew him best should set this slander finally at rest." Butterfield, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
71. Nicolay and Hay, *op. cit.*, VI, 213.
72. *Colonel Alexander McClure's Recollections of Half a Century*, Salem, Mass., 1902, p. 348.
73. Macartney, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

Dates and other biographical data without references in this list can be found in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

THE THOMAS O. LARKIN HOUSE AT MONTEREY

Reproduced by permission from *Spanish Colonial or Adobe Architecture of California, 1800-1850,* by Donald R. Hannaford and Revel Edwards.

BUILDING THE LARKIN HOUSE

By Robert J. Parker

One of the historic treasures of California is the famous Consul Larkin House at Monterey. Built as the residence and the place of business of young Thomas Oliver Larkin during the Mexican period, the adobe attained fame as the first *de facto* United States Capitol in California. In 1843-44, when Larkin was appointed United States Consul, his home became the center not only for most of the business life of the Province but also for a great deal of the official life as well. Larkin's house was the destination of Lieutenant Gillespie who brought secret dispatches from Washington to Larkin and Frémont. These instructions had been memorized and then destroyed by him before entering Mexico. On his arrival at Monterey, Gillespie was immediately closeted there with Larkin, to whom he transmitted the memorized orders from Secretary of State Buchanan, and asked where he could find Frémont, for whom he had similar orders. Upon his departure from Larkin's house, Gillespie carried with him directions and letters to assist him in his mission.[1]

After Commodore Sloat's arrival on July 2, 1846, Larkin House quickly became the meeting-place for all of the Americans in the area. After the Kearny-Frémont difficulties had been settled, General Kearny and his Adjutant General, Lieutenant Sherman, used Larkin House as the American Headquarters of California. It was not until after the arrival of Colonel Mason that the American base of operations was moved to *El Cuartel.*

Reasonably soon after the search for gold had made San Francisco the great business center of the Pacific Coast, the astute Larkin moved there from Monterey. By an agreement with Jacob P. Leese, the Larkin house and other holdings in Monterey were exchanged for some of the Leese properties in San Francisco.

Leese and his family occupied the Larkin house for some time. It then came into the possession of Robert Johnson, of Monterey, who restored the building, wall, and gardens as best he could. Later, when the property was offered for sale again, it was purchased by Mrs. Henry W. Toulmin (Alice Sistare Larkin), granddaughter of Thomas Oliver Larkin, the original builder. Mrs. Toulmin has carried on the work of restoration and, to a great extent modernization, until now the Larkin house is again one of the most beautiful adobes in California.[2]

In 1832, after a long and strenuous journey from Boston by way of the Sandwich Islands, Larkin arrived at Monterey on the *Newcastle.* Rather dubious about his new setting, the young man, not quite thirty, plunged into

life on the Pacific Coast with enthusiasm. His ten years of business experience in North Carolina had given him enough confidence to overcome obstacles at Monterey.[3]

During his first year of residence, Larkin worked as a clerk in the store of his half-brother, John B. R. Cooper. There is some reason to believe that Larkin had been asked by Cooper to come to California to straighten out his business. In 1833, with not more than $500 as capital, but with a great deal of training, the young fellow opened a business establishment of his own. During the same year he married the widowed Mrs. Rachel (Hobson) Holmes and so began to consider the possibility of building a permanent home in Monterey.

Accordingly, as early as December of 1834, he set in motion a train of events that was eventually to culminate in the building which has since become known as the Larkin House. A concise sort of a person, with a mind for detail, he recorded every expenditure made for the building of his home. From Larkin's accounts it is possible to secure definite information about building costs in Mexican California. The facts are to be found in the original Thomas Oliver Larkin "Account Books," I (April, 1837-January, 1838), II (March, 1832-April, 1837), IV (January, 1838-February, 1840), part of the manuscript collection of the Bancroft Library of the University of California. The expenditures allotted to the house have been arranged for publication and appear at the close of this article together with "Larkin's Monterey Weather Report."

Believing that his home should also be his place of business, Larkin made provision not only for a residence but also for a store and other buildings. During the last days of 1834, he selected a building site and began to assemble the needed materials. He labeled the first entry "Repairs for the Town House," but without much doubt he really meant materials for his new home. It is interesting to know that young Larkin budgeted most of the money spent on the house. At the left of some of the entries he listed what I have designated as the "estimated cost." At the extreme right appeared the "actual cost." Almost always his estimate was lower than the actual cost. At any rate, in the month of December, he spent a total of $120.4[4] for adobes, lumber, labor, and part payment on the oven.[5]

In April of the following year, Larkin purchased the fifty varas[6] of land he had chosen as the site for his house (now a corner of Jefferson and Main streets). The ground cost $12.4, and in addition Larkin paid $3.2 for the deed. Six to eight men, hired to work on the foundation for seven days, were paid $38.5 for their labor. The stone cost $1.0 a load, and 126 loads were needed. Other items, including work on the oven, purchase of lime, hire of oxen, and cost of bricks, brought the total expenditure to $222.0.[7]

During May another $5.0 was expended for work on the foundation. The next task was to prepare the adobe bricks for the walls of the house. Appar-

ently Larkin made a few of these himself, but for the most part he bought them from other men in the community. He paid $6.0 for the construction of adobe moulds. About the same time $6.0 was spent to repair the handcart, which had collapsed from almost constant use. Eleven loads of white stone were purchased at the current price, and the laying of the stone cost $6.0. The total expenditure for the house this month was $34.0 while the estimated cost was $23.4.[8]

For two reasons a relatively small amount of money was spent on the house during the month of June. For one thing, the materials collected and listed earlier in the year probably were sufficient to carry over this month. A more plausible reason is that June of 1835 ushered in a period of wet weather which made it almost impossible for the men to work on the structure. Most of the adobes had to be remoulded because of the rainy weather. One can almost picture the consternation of Larkin as he writes, "June 12. Rain all day so as to prevent work & to ruin adobies." The cost of the remoulding was $2.4. In addition, $0.6 had to be spent for a hoe and a trowel. The total amount spent during June was $12.2, while the estimated cost was $7.2.[9]

The weather during the month of July was more conducive to building. The expense this month totaled $849.6, while the estimate was $601.6. Building the walls of the house cost $203.0. Part of this amount went for labor but most of it was spent on materials. In addition $21.0 was expended for fourteen planks. Fourteen joists, 19′ x 3″ x 8″, cost $28.0 and fourteen more, 25′ x 4″ x 10″, cost $71.0. John Gorman, an Irishman who had arrived in Monterey a year before Larkin, collected $46.0 for his services as a combination carpenter and bricklayer. Henry Herd, a recent recruit from the United States, received $18.0 for his work on the house. When hiring workmen, Larkin had to arrange to feed and shelter them. During this period board for the various people employed came to about $40.0. Thirteen pillars cost him $50.0. Nails amounted to $0.6. Ten door plates came to $30.0. Six round poles cost $2.4. The second largest amount spent was for the making and the hauling of adobes. Larkin bought 12,000 at $15.0 a thousand and paid $60.0 to have them hauled to his premises. Indian labor cost him $6.7.[10] August saw the expenditure of $42.0 more for Indian labor.[11]

The month of September cost the builder $897.4, although his estimate was $658.4. The greatest expenditure was for the roof. Larkin thought it would cost $430.4, but actually it came to $581.0. This amount included $172.0 for beams, planks, and boards; $40.4 for over four *arrobas*[12] of nails; $3.0 for "Rum for Raising the roof"; $2.4 for "hauling stuff"; $210.0 for shingles at $10.0 a thousand; and, $143.0 for shingles from Job Dye. To Indian labor was allotted $20.0. Workmen earned $14.0 for putting in the frame, and 26,000 feet of lumber came to $150.0. William Garner, a lumberman and early English resident of California, was paid $52.0 for beams. Luther and

Price, also in the lumber business, sold Larkin $64.0 worth of beams. Indian labor cost $9.0 more. William Mark West, another English lumberman who was at times a carpenter, was paid $7.5 for five planks.[13]

The next month brought some fair weather for house building, although there was rain on October 20, 21, 22, and a slight shower the week before.[14] Accordingly $86.0 was spent for boards for the lower floor. Indian labor took $2.4. "Adobies for chimbly" (sic) and adobes for the house cost $4.0. Ten loads of stone for the bake oven came to $10.0. Nathan Spear, a former Bostonian who became a merchant at Monterey, sold Larkin $15.0 worth of iron which was probably for the windows. The blacksmith's wage for his work on the frames for the windows came to $2.4. An additional $6.4 went to "adobies for oven," and $3.4, to Indian labor. Included in the next entry for October was lead for the roof at $25.0; seven joists for the doors, $8.6; three planks for the windows, $4.4; "stuff for lower doors," $24.0; pay for Gorman's work on the chimney, $7.4; Indian labor, $1.0; and Indian board to November, $15.0. Larkin planned to spend $182.6 but the work finally cost him $215.4.[15]

Apparently, the weather during the next month was fair, because no entry to the contrary appears in the weather report and because $642.4 was spent on the house. Gregorio, possibly an Indian or Mexican boy, was paid $36.0, which included wages for two months' work, and the cost of two months' board. Pay for the Indians took $2.4. Two crowbars, which were either lost or stolen, created a deficit of $12.0. Gorman, who continued to work, was paid $7.0 for his services. Four locks for the doors of the house were purchased for $12.0. Over 2¼ *arrobas* of nails cost $25.4. "Robert" put in some extra work, and earned $6.0. Lumber to the amount of 1,800 feet to be used on the upper floor of the house was purchased for $90.0. Joists for the doors came to $30.0, while screws and hinges cost $12.0. Other joists, costing $10.4, were obtained for the windows on the upper floor. Besides all of this expense, Larkin paid a note for $300.0 held by West. He expended $28.0 for slabs of wood for the kitchen, $8.0 for labor in the kitchen, $18.0 for fifty poles for the corral fence, and $16.0 to "Estevan" for digging a well.[16]

The next month brought weather unfavorable for house building. The record states that a little rain fell on December 1 and 2, that December 14, 15, and 16 brought light showers "enough to run the gutters," and that "heavy rain" fell on December 23 and 24. Larkin's expense this month was $33.0, while he had planned to spend only $26.0. Gregorio's "pay and feed 1 mo." cost $18.0. Henry Jubilee Bee, a former English sailor who made a living by guiding strangers through the country, was paid $4.0 for his labor on the house. William Brander, a young Scotch carpenter, earned $6.0. Finally $5.0 was spent on nails and tacks. Larkin's house was built from 1834 to 1837, but even after the latter date more improvements were made on the property. The statement that the house was built in 1835 is an error.[17]

The first month of the new year saw heavy house expenditures. Larkin thought $96.0 would be enough money, but actually the house took $152.0. Of this total $45.0 went to "Robert's" work and board. Extra poles for the corral and laths for the house came to $6.0. "Luther," probably Luther Cooper, was paid $39.0 for completing the well and for working on the yard. Five doors cost $15.0. More boards for the windows cost $10.0. Two boxes of glass for the windows came to $30.0. Hauling dirt for the yard and work on the oven cost $7.0.[18] January did not bring weather suitable for the building of houses. There was "rain" on January 3 and 4; "light rain" on January 9; "very heavy rain, gutters full" on January 10, 11, 12, and 13; and "light rain" again on January 14 and 15.[19]

The next month was quite fair with the exception of "rain at night" on February 9 and 10, and "light showers" on February 27.[20] Larkin hoped to spend $29.1 this month but actually spent $63.1. Boards and work on the gutters of the roof cost $25.0. From George Kinlock, a Scotch carpenter who had arrived in Monterey a little before him, Larkin purchased two doors for $15.0. Three more doors were secured from Thomas Doak, an American carpenter of fair standing in the community. Spear was paid $6.5 for more iron and $15.0[21] for ten *fanegas*[22] of lime. Four pairs of hinges and screws cost $6.0. Sawyers were paid $2.0. Boards, to be used in facing the doors purchased earlier in the month, came to $3.0. One half keg of paint cost $3.0, and one gallon of oil, $2.4.[23]

March was a better month for house construction. Evidently "it came in like a lamb and went out like a lion," for on March 24, 25, and 28 there was a great deal of rain.[24] However, not very much money was spent on the house. Instead of the estimated $7.0, entries for the house totalled $13.4. Doak was paid $10.0 more for facing four windows. One level cost $1.4, and the cutting of the glass came to $2.0.[25]

No entry appears for April because the wet weather made it difficult to carry on building activities. Heavy rain fell on nine different days. May had just as much rain, but seemed to be a better month for building.[26] Iron bars for the door of the shop cost $3.4. Partitions for the lower hall came to $25.0. Four padlocks for the store cost $6.0. The amount spent for 103 bricks was $18.0. Larkin had anticipated spending $37.6 but the final outlay was $52.4.[27]

The last entry in Larkin's weather report, June 9, 1836, reads "3 days rain up to June 9."[28] He spent $63.4 during this month. From Michael Lodge of Santa Cruz, an Irish carpenter and lumberman, Larkin bought 1,000 feet of lumber and partitions for the upper floor of the house for $52.0. Two joists for the stairway cost $4.0. "Jimmy" was paid $5.0 for one week's work, and bricks for the chimney came to $2.4.[29]

July saw a large expenditure for Larkin's house. The amount planned for expenses was only $205.3, but actually $251.4 was needed before the close of the month. Of this amount $2.0 was allotted to closet locks, and $16.0 to hinges and screws for the closets. The local lumberman charged $52.0 for 800

feet of board and joists. John Smith, an American carpenter, was paid $70.0 for laying the floor over the store, and putting up the partitions on the upper floor. Two fireplaces necessitated $60.0 worth of iron and the services of a blacksmith at $1.0. Later in the same month Smith earned $17.0 more for finishing the upstairs rooms. John Price, a native of Kentucky and associated at one time with Walker's group of trappers, earned $8.0 for papering the lower room. Paper and paste for the lower room came to $11.0.[30] Two side-pieces for the stairs cost $4.2; one beam for the stairs, $14.0; eight boards from Spear, $5.4; and two pairs of hinges, $2.0. Smith earned $60.0 more, and an additional $8.0 was spent on his board.[31]

August brought four entries to the Larkin books. The estimated expense of $214.2 fell short of the total expenditure of $298.6. Spear sold Larkin 300 feet of lumber for $15.0, and $3.0 worth of oil for the paint. Paint and oil for the front room cost $3.0. A keg of white lead came to $6.0. Brads and fifty pounds of nails cost $20.0. Lodge charged $52.0 for 1,000 feet of lumber. Seven pairs of sashes from West cost Larkin $70.0. Eight beams for the upper story amounted to $16.4. A box of glass came to $19.0; chalk, $1.2; and Doak's note, $108.0.[32]

No entries appeared for September, October, and November. But about the middle of December there was an entry of $157.0 for house expenses. Shingles for the roof to the number of 200 cost $16.0. Smith earned $25.0. Two thousand feet of thin lumber cost $96.0. Room paper, the last item, came to $20.0.[33]

On January 1, 1837, Larkin recorded that his house and lot had cost him a total of $3,843.0.[34] Although my figure is slightly more than the one given by Larkin, we should accept his estimate because he probably knew more about the cost of his house than anyone working through his account books at this late date. At this time the house was well furnished with a desk costing $40.0, two sideboards, valued at $30.0 and $40.0 respectively, two looking glasses valued at $25.0, twelve chairs costing $36.0, and one bedstead at $25.0. In this second entry of January 1, 1837, Larkin lists the cost of the house and lot at $3,000.0 which is quite obviously too low a price.[35] However, house costs continued through 1837 to and including 1839. Even after this time repairs and other additions were probably made. Quite possibly though, the Larkin family occupied the house in its unfinished state as early as June 10, 1835.[36]

The first house expenditure of 1837 came in August. At this time Larkin paid "Watty" $15.0 for putting up one fence, and spent $20.0 more for a separate fence. Another item, listed as "cost of oven," came to $30.0. One of the workers on the house, McVickers, earned $12.0 in board, cash, and trade. Larkin also bought 500 feet of 2" plank for $40.0. The estimated "cost of privy" was $40.0, but it came to $90.0 when finished.[37]

September's entry included 3,500 adobes "for kitchen wall & store" for $70.0. Payment for the labor of Wood, Mason, and the Indians came to

$118.0. The gate and the frame for the wall cost $11.0. A window and door for the kitchen amounted to $9.0. Lumber, including a joist and another gate, came to $18.0. The carpenter's bill to September 4 was $95.0. Larkin estimated the total cost this month at $140.0 but in reality it was $321.0.[38]

The next entry was written in December. Here we find that Larkin purchased 2,000 feet of lumber for $100.0. In the same month Smith earned $40.0 for carpenter work on the back room, and McVickers earned $27.0 for work on the staircase. Kitchen tiles to the number of 700 cost $28.0, and plank ran to $7.0. Two locks cost $5.0. Larkin's estimate for the month was $149.0; the actual cost was $207.0.[39]

During the month of January, 1838, $72.0 was spent on wall paper and labor. Paper for the rooms came to $8.0; paint and glue, $7.0; and Smith's labor, $34.4. Larkin thought the cost would be $48.0, but his figure was $24.0 too low.[40] With the last entry the house was about completed. Other entries, beginning in May and continuing through 1839, refer primarily to the construction of Larkin's bake house, although sometimes they are labeled "house expenses."[41] According to my computation, the Larkin house, when completed with a wall and probably a few auxiliary buildings, cost $4,927.6. As it is very difficult at times to interpret some of the "Accounts," it is quite possible that some cost was either left out completely or added in twice by either the author or the builder. Therefore, it would be much better to say that the establishment now known as the Consul Larkin House originally cost about $5,000 completed.

COST OF LARKIN HOUSE[42]

Date	*Item*	*Estimated Cost*	*Actual Cost*
December, 1834	750 adobes $10.4, Stones $10		$ 27.4
	Hauling Adobes $3.6, 8 joists $8		11.6
	Transient men $2.4, Large joist $2.4		5.0
	Carpinter $16.4, Indians $5.2		21.6
	Harry and Arthur $22., oven adobes $4.4		26.4
	Paid on Oven $9., Boards $15		24.4
	Indian work on doors		3.4
	Total		120.4
April, 1835	Paid Bowman and Frazer to work on bake house		3.4
	Iron for oven door		3.0
	Paid Watty for flags		6.0
	One hide for flags		2.0
	Bricks for oven and hauling		9.0
	Lime $1., slats and poles $4		5.0
	Total		28.4

Date	*Item*	*Estimated Cost*	*Actual Cost*
April, 1835	Paid 6 or 8 men 7 days work making foundation	$ 29.4	$ 38.5
	126 load stone	61.4	126.0
	Oxen and other work	4.0	4.0
	50 varas land	12.4	12.4
	Deed for land	3.2	3.2
	Totals	110.6	184.3
May, 1835	Work on foundation	3.0	5.0
	4 Adoby moulds	6.0	6.0
	Paid for repairing hand cart	4.0	6.0
	11 loads of white stone @ $1. per load	6.4	11.0
	Laying white stone	4.0	6.0
	Totals	23.4	34.0
June, 1835	Henry's work	4.0	8.0
	Remould adobes	2.4	2.4
	Hoe and trowel	0.6	0.6
	Totals	7.2	11.2
July, 1835	Work by Indians	66.0	66.0
	Paid Indians in trade	4.0	11.0
	Work by Gorman	23.0	46.0
	Work by Warren	11.0	22.0
	Work by Herd	12.0	18.0
	Peoples board	20.0	40.0
	Putting up walls	136.0	203.0
	14 plank	14.0	21.0
	14 joists 19x3x8	28.0	28.0
	14 joists 25x4x10	42.0	71.0
	10 door plates	30.0	30.0
	6 round poles	2.4	3.0
	Nails	0.6	0.6
	12,000 adobes @ $15.0 per thousand	120.0	180.0
	Hauling adobes	60.0	60.0
	13 pillars	32.4	50.0
	Totals	601.6	849.6
August, 1835	Paid Indians		42.0
September, 1835	Beams, plank, and boards	110.0	172.0
	3 arrobas No. 4 nails	27.0	27.0
	1 arroba 40 lbs. No. 10 nails	16.0	16.0
	Rum for raising the roof	1.4	3.0
	Hauling stuff	1.4	2.4
	20 arroba nails 10 lbs	7.4	7.4
	21,000 shingles @ $10.0 per thousand	126.0	210.0

Date	*Item*	*Estimated Cost*	*Actual Cost*
	Paid Mr. Dye for shingles	140.0	143.0
	Paid Indians	4.0	6.0
	Paid Indians	3.0	4.0
	Paid Indians	7.0	10.0
	Paid for putting in frame	14.0	14.0
	2600 ft. lumber for roof	110.0	150.0
	Totals	567.4	765.0
September, 1835	Paid Mr. Garner for Beams	38.0	52.0
	Paid Luther and Price for beams	40.0	64.0
	Paid Indians	7.0	9.0
	5 plank at Mr. West's	6.0	7.4
	Totals	91.0	132.4
October, 1835	Boards for lower floor	80.0	86.0
	Cash for Indians	2.2	2.2
	Adobes for chimney	1.0	2.0
	Adobes for house	2.0	2.0
	10 loads of stone for the oven	8.0	10.0
	Iron from Mr. Spear	15.0	15.0
	Blacksmith's labor on the windows	2.0	2.4
	Adobes for oven	6.0	6.4
	Paid Indians	3.4	3.4
	Totals	119.6	129.6
October, 1835	Lead for the roof	20.0	25.0
	7 joists for the doors	6.0	8.6
	3 planks for the windows	3.0	4.4
	Stuff for lower doors	9.0	14.0
	Lower doors	7.0	10.0
	Paid Indians	1.0	1.0
	Paid Gorman for work on the chimney	7.0	7.4
	Indian's board to November	10.0	15.0
	Totals	63.0	85.6
November, 1835	2 planks of A. Robinson	29.0	29.0
November, 1835	Gregorio's pay and board for 2 months	26.0	36.0
	Paid Indians	1.4	2.4
	2 bars lost	12.0	12.0
	Paid Gorman	7.0	7.0
	4 locks	12.0	12.0
	2¼ arroba 10 nails	22.4	22.4
	Nails	3.0	3.0
	Robert's extra work	4.0	6.0
	1800 ft. lumber for upper floor	80.0	90.0
	Joists for doors	20.0	30.0

Date	*Item*	*Estimated Cost*	*Actual Cost*
	Screws and hinges	8.0	12.0
	Joists for upper windows	8.4	10.4
	Paid Mark West	200.0	300.0
	Totals	404.4	543.4
November, 1835	Slabs for kitchen	22.0	28.0
	Work on kitchen	5.0	8.0
	50 poles for fence (corral?)	18.0	18.0
	Paid Estevan for well	15.0	16.0
	Totals	60.0	70.0
December, 1835	Gregorio's pay and feed for one month	14.0	18.0
	Paid Henry Bee	3.4	4.0
	Paid William Brander	3.4	6.0
	Nails and tacks	5.0	5.0
	Totals	26.0	33.0
January, 1836	Robert's work and board	28.0	45.0
	Extra poles and lathes	6.0	6.0
	Luther's work on well and work on yard when finished	20.0	39.0
	Wood for five doors	8.0	15.0
	Boards for windows	8.0	10.0
	2 boxes of glass	20.0	30.0
	Hauling dirt	3.0	4.0
	Work on oven	3.0	3.0
	Totals	96.0	152.0
February, 1836	Boards and work for the gutter	16.0	25.0
	Paid G. Kenlock for two doors	8.0	15.0
	Paid T. Doak for three doors	15.0	30.0
	Paid Spear for iron	6.5	6.5
	10 fanegas of lime	10.0	15.0
	Deduct as charged twice	36.0	45.0
	Totals	19.5	46.5
February, 1836	4 pair hinges and screws	1.0	6.0
	Paid Sawyers	1.0	2.0
	Boards	2.0	3.0
	Paint and oil	5.4	5.4
	Totals	9.4	16.4
March, 1836	Paid Doak for facing four windows	5.0	10.0
	1 level @ $1.4, cutting glass @ $2	2.0	3.4
	Totals	7.0	13.4

Date	*Item*	*Estimated Cost*	*Actual Cost*
May, 1836	Iron bars for shop door	2.6	3.4
	Partition for the lower hall	16.0	25.0
	4 padlocks for store	4.0	6.0
	103 bricks	15.0	18.0
	Totals	37.6	52.4
June, 1836	1000 ft. lumber of Mr. Lodge for upper floor and partition		52.0
	2 joists for stairway		4.0
	Paid Jimmy for one weeks work		5.0
	Bricks for the chimney		2.4
	Total		63.4
July, 1836	Closet lock	2.0	2.0
	Hinges and screws	1.6	1.6
	800 ft. of board and 200 ft. joist	45.0	52.0
	Paid John Smith for laying floor over the store and putting up 2 partitions upstairs	60.0	70.0
	60 lbs. of iron for 2 fireplaces	7.0	7.4
	Paid Blacksmith	0.4	1.0
	Paid John Price for new paper	4.0	8.0
	Paid Smith for finishing room	14.0	17.0
	Paper and paste for lower line	11.0	11.0
	Totals	145.2	170.2
July, 1836	2 side pieces for the stairs	4.2	4.2
	1 beam for stairs	1.3	1.4
	4 boards of Mr. Spear	3.4	3.4
	2 boards of Mr. Spear	2.0	2.0
	2 pair of hinges and screws	2.0	2.0
	Paid John Smith for one month's work	40.0	60.0
	John Smith's board	7.0	8.0
	Totals	60.1	81.2
August, 1836	300 ft. lumber of Mr. Spear	15.0	15.0
	Paint and oil for the front room	3.0	3.0
	Totals	18.0	18.0
August, 1836	1 keg white lead	6.0	6.0
	Oil of Mr. Spear	3.0	3.0
	1000 ft. lumber from Mr. Lodge	40.0	52.0
	Brads @ $4.0, 50 lbs. of nails @ $16.0	20.0	20.0
	7 pair sashes upstairs from Mr. West	50.0	70.0
	Totals	119.0	151.0

Date	*Item*	*Estimated Cost*	*Actual Cost*
August, 1836	8 beams for 2nd story	10.0	16.4
	1 box of glass	12.0	14.0
	Chalk	1.2	1.2
	Totals	23.2	31.6
August, 1836	T. Doak's bill	54.0	108.0
December, 1836	200 shingles	12.0	16.0
	Paid Smith, Carpenter	15.0	25.0
	2000 ft. thin lumber	95.0	96.0
	Room paper	20.0	20.0
	Totals	142.0	157.0
August, 1837	Watty's bill of fence	8.0	15.0
	Puting up sep. fence	10.0	20.0
	Cost of oven	10.0	30.0
	Paid McVickers (with board)	4.0	12.0
	500 feet 2 inch planke	25.0	40.0
	Cost of privy	40.0	90.0
	Totals	97.0	207.0
September, 1837	3500 adobies for Kitchen Wall & Store	20.0	70.0
	Wood, Mason, & Indian labourer	50.0	118.0
	Gate and frame for wall	6.0	11.0
	Window & Door Kitchen	5.0	9.0
	Lumber Joist & gate	9.0	18.0
	Carpenter's bill to Sept. 4	50.0	95.0
	Totals	140.0	321.0
December, 1837	2000 ft. lumber	15.0	100.0
	700 tiles for the kitchen	70.0	28.0
	Paid McVickers Staircase	17.0	27.0
	2 in. plank & 4 in.	18.0	7.0
	Paid Smith fixing back room	24.0	40.0
	2 locks	5.0	5.0
	Totals	149.0	207.0
January, 1838	Amt. paid Smith	11.0	22.4
	Paper for room	8.0	8.0
	Paint and glue	5.0	7.0
	Paid Smith	24.0	34.4
	Totals	48.0	72.0

[LARKIN'S MONTEREY WEATHER REPORT, 1833-1836][43]

1833

Nov 20 Rain— a little— light showers
Decr 10-11—& 12th little rain—muddy, river rose a foot—Cold

1834

Jan 7—little rain— Snow on the mountains a week. Cold
8 little rain. warm
16 much rain in the night house very leaky
25 Some rain. roads good up to day.
26 rain. river very low (last night). to day high
27 River rising warm, river swiming (barely)
28 rain. river rising. put the boat in. warm
Feb 1 very fine weather. cross'd the upper pass a horse back
3 no rain since the 28th. the river rose another foot
3d to the 8th pleasant. Carts pass the river with but little trouble.
9 slight showers
10 Slight showers Cold
11 do do
12 do do. ford Passable
12 to 18 fair weather
18 & 19 Slight Showers
March 15 do do
16 heavy rain
17 do do river very low—pleasant 1 week
Last week in March & 1st in Apr. rain most every day
Apr 8-9-& 10 April Showers. 11 to 15 do
April 16 heavy rain all day—river rising a little
to 20th do — do — " — river 6 ft higer than it has been all winter
21 river rising—weather very fine
22 river on the fall 23d fell 8 feet weather still fine
29 river passable no rain. weather unsettled
30 chilly—foggy and cloudy—
May 1 Fair weather river passable—horse back
to 7th fair & warm. river falling very slow
May 15 1835 Very dry for 2 or 3 months—now rain for 2 or 3 days
June 12 Rain all day so as to prevent work & to ruin Adobies.
Oct 20 & 22 Rain—a light shower a week before
Dec 1 & 2 " " " Rain
the month of Novr very fair thro'out
Dec 14 & 15 slight showers. enough to run the gutters
23 & 24 heavy rain

Jan 3, 1836 Rain—Jan 4, light rain
6 & 8 Rain. 9 light Rain
10 & 11 & 12 Rain 13 Very heavy rain gutters full
14 & 15 Rain 16 fair 17 heavy rain
Feb 9 & 10 & 12 Rain at night 27 light showers
March 24 25 light rain in the night
" 28. Smart shower in the night
April 2 heavy showers night & day
" 5. 6. & 7th heavy rains in the nights & days
13 & 15 Rain
" 25 Rain 30 Rain
May 6 Rain (heavy) 11 heavy rain 14 Rain
16 light rain 21 Rain 22 Rain 24 do
27 Rain in the night 29 heavy rain in the night
3 days rain up to June 9th. [Last entry]

NOTES

1. William T. Sherman, writing from New York on March 15, 1887, says: "I am sure that it was the general belief in California when I reached there in January 1847, that Gillespie had brought out a slip of paper from Benton concealed about his person which he delivered to Frémont, who then turned back and took up the Bear party at Sonoma." Sherman to John T. Doyle, March 15, 1887. Original MS in the Crocker Collection, California Historical Society.

2. "The Larkin house . . . was divided by a hall containing the staircase to the second floor, flanked by two rooms on each side. . . . The living room . . . opens on the garden. . . . Its present furniture is largely that of the Consul's time. The present dining-room was used during Mr. Larkin's incumbency as Consul as the 'Trading Station.' It was here that the commissary was maintained. It was also the exchange floor on which cargoes of hides were exchanged by the Californians for furniture, finished lumber, and various luxuries of civilization with which the clipper ships weathered the Horn. The broad pine flooring, [is] worn by many steps. . . ." Knowlton Mixer, "The Monterey House," in *House Beautiful*, February, 1933, pp. 51, 59. For further information about other famous Monterey adobes see Laura Bride Powers, *Monterey: California's Adobe Capital*, San Francisco: San Carlos Press, 1934.

3. For an account of Larkin's sojourn in North Carolina see Robert J. Parker, "A Chapter in the Early Life of Thomas Oliver Larkin," in the California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XVI, No. 1, Part 1 (March, 1937), 3-29; XVI, No. 2 (June, 1937), 144-70; "Thomas Oliver Larkin in 1831; A Letter from North Carolina," in *ibid.*, XVI, No. 3 (September, 1937), 263-70; and "A *Yankee* in North Carolina: the Observations of Thomas Oliver Larkin, 1821-1826," in the North Carolina Historical *Review*, XIV, No. 3.

4. Among the Anglo-American traders in California at this time the American dollar and the Spanish *real* were used as the cash mediums of exchange. A *real* was a silver coin equal to twelve and a half cents. On the Pacific eight *reales* equalled one dollar. To prevent the tiresome repetition of the word *real* in the body of the paper, Arabic numerals with the decimal point to the left will hereafter indicate the *reales*; e. g., $2.4 means two dollars, four *reales*.

5. Thomas Oliver Larkin "Account Books," II (March, 1832-April, 1837), 132.

6. A vara equals two and three-quarters feet.

7. Thomas Oliver Larkin "Account Books," II (March, 1832-April, 1837), 132; 161-62.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
9. Cf. "Larkin's Monterey Weather Report, 1833-1836," in *ibid.*, pp. 324-26.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 207.
12. An *arroba* equals 25 lbs.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 209.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 213.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, p. 221.
22. A *fanega* equals approximately 1.6 bushels or about 96 lbs.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 237.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 253, 258, 259, 361.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
36. "Receipt for payment of store license, Jorge Allen to Thomas Oliver Larkin, Monterey, June 10, 1835." A loose original manuscript discovered by the author in the Thomas Oliver Larkin "Account Books," I (April, 1837-January, 1838).
37. *Ibid.*, I (April, 1837-January, 1838), 49.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 101.
41. For further information cf. *ibid.*, IV (January, 1838-February, 1840), 33, 55, 59, 97, 113, 141, 181, 185.
42. Compiled by the author from the original manuscript Thomas Oliver Larkin "Account Books" and published here for the first time by permission of the Bancroft Library.
43. What I have chosen to call "Larkin's Monterey Weather Report, 1833-1836" is an original Larkin manuscript. It is published here for the first time by permission of the Bancroft Library.

CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS OF SAN FRANCISCO*

Compiled by DOROTHY H. HUGGINS

October 30 to November 21, 1855

October 30. Louis Morris was convicted before the Mayor of committing an assault upon Mr. S. C. Bradshaw, of the firm of Bradshaw & Co., on California Street. Mr. Morris pled guilty, but adduced the following circumstances in mitigation of the offense. There is, according to his statement, a secret association of possibly a hundred grocers of the city who cooperate for the purpose of ascertaining among themselves what persons engaged in business in San Francisco can safely be trusted. Many customers purchase of one house until a good bill is made, when, without settling, they transfer their trade to other houses, who in turn are defrauded. The object of the association is to keep a list of such persons for the protection of its members. This list is published every month, and if a merchant has sold a bill for which he has not received payment, he records the name of the debtor upon the black list, and thereafter the proscribed man is known as unsafe among the members of the organization. Mr. Morris owed Mr. Bradshaw a small balance which he failed to pay, and his creditor therefore inscribed his name upon the black list and it was for doing this that the assault was committed.

October 31. John Alexander Morse, once known in this city as a writer on the *Bon Ton Critic,* escaped from San Quentin. The recently formed Sarsfield Guards received fifty Springfield muskets and the necessary accoutrements from the office of General Kibbe, Quartermaster General of the State. The uniforms of the Wallace Guards arrived on the steamer *Sonora* and are very handsome. Mr. Robert Cushing was put on trial for the assault with deadly weapons committed on the person of Mr. James P. Casey on the 21st of August last. The prosecution was conducted by Messrs. Baldwin, Tilford and James; and Colonel Baker and Mr. Tingley defended the prisoner. The jury returned a verdict of guilty in the case of the U. S. vs. Julius Levy, of St. Losky, Levy & Co., in the U. S. Circuit Court, M. H. McAllister, Judge. Mr. Levy had been indicted for smuggling sixty-seven cases of cigars.

November 1. The anniversary of the College of California at Oakland was celebrated yesterday. On June 6, 1853, Rev. Henry Durant opened a boys' school in Oakland. Soon after, a board of trustees was chosen, and the "College School" incorporated. They obtained, by gift and purchase, four blocks of ground and put up a building costing $5,000. In the summer of 1854, Mr. Durant moved his school into it, and recently, under the name of "College of California," a charter has been obtained and a new board of thirteen trustees elected. The exercises, which were held in the Presbyterian Church, opened with "Hail Columbia," and a Latin salutatory by Henry S. Foote, Jr. Mr. Foote read some creditable compositions from the *Scholars' Journal,* published by the institution. The Rev. W. A. Scott delivered an address on "Education." The Rev. Drs. Benton, F. C. Ewer, and T. D. Hunt, were present, also Paul K. Hubbs, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and others attached to the educational department of the city and county, as well as four hundred spectators. The exercises of the girls' department, which was organized a few months since, took place in the evening, and concluded with the reading of a poem by Frank Soulé, "The Triumph of Intel-

*This portion of the "Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco" has been adapted from the *Alta California* and the *Daily Evening Bulletin,* October 30 to November 22, 1855.

lectual Art." The girls' school, under the supervision of Rev. A. F. White, is in a separate building some distance from the college. A rich quartz vein has been discovered in Santa Cruz County on the rancho recently purchased by Dr. Van Caneghen and Major Hensley and formerly the property of Don Pedro Sansevain. A letter from Valparaiso, dated September 14, was printed in the *Alta California,* stating that Governor Bigler had requested the government of Chile for the arrest and extradition of Henry Meiggs, and that the authorities were doing their utmost to comply with the request, but Meiggs, who for some time past had been living at Chillean, some three hundred miles south of Valparaiso, had left, on a gold-hunting expedition, for Atuche, a village thirty leagues from Concepcion. About ten feet of the Steuart Street Wharf caved in, but fortunately did no damage. The French bark *Confidence* fired a salute of 100 guns at noon today in honor of the battle fought and claimed by the Allies in the Crimea. A mining town called Cañon City, in Shasta County, was destroyed by fire. The loss was estimated at $30,000. The splendid clipper ship *Challenger,* William H. Burgess commander, took her departure for Hongkong, carrying over 400 Chinamen.

November 2. Mr. Clark, a special policeman on the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's Wharf, was sent before the Court of Sessions on a charge of assaulting Mr. Gardner on the occasion of the arrival of the last steamer, and knocking his teeth down his throat with a club. Dr. John Alexander Morse, who had escaped from the State Prison, has been recaptured and is now in limbo. This was the coldest day of the year since February. The north wind came up and created a dangerous sea in the harbor. A sloop loaded with coal and timber was sunk off Market Street Wharf. The steamer *Ellen Craig* lost her hurricane deck, stove-pipe, bulwarks, etc., and the steamers *Sea Bird* and *Clinton* were also slightly damaged by contact with the piles. A large quantity of lumber, etc., was picked up off North Beach. The steamer *Thomas Cope* had her pipe and part of her bulwarks carried away, and the ship *Zenobia,* late from Sitka, and lying at Pacific Street Wharf, had a portion of her rail and bulwarks stove in by collision with the wharf and other vessels. The office of the Secretary of State has furnished the official returns of the vote for governor, as follows: Johnson, 51,157; Bigler, 46,220. In the trial of Robert Cushing for assault with a deadly weapon, in the Court of Sessions, Judge Freelon presiding, the jury returned a verdict of guilty. The verdict was received with great sensation. The *Daily Evening Bulletin* reported that Lola Montez had attempted to stab the mate of the *Fanny Major,* for kicking her dog, on her voyage to Australia. Dr. J. M. Sharkey has been appointed resident house surgeon to the City and County Hospital of San Francisco. A brilliant audience crowded Musical Hall to hear the address of Colonel E. D. Baker before the Mechanics' Institute on the subject of "The Dignity of Labor." Judge R. N. Morrison, formerly Judge of San Francisco County, suffered a paralytic stroke which affected his right side.

Signora Drusilla Garbato, the Italian Prima Donna, rehearsed several selections from opera, at Musical Hall. She is yet young, but rather inclined to *embonpoint,* has a pleasing and vivacious expression, a very arch and *taking* smile, not altogether affected, which at times lights up her expressive face, and which, with concert dress and friendly gas, is destined to create a fluttering breast beneath the waistcoat of many a musical enthusiast. Her voice is one in which the peculiar qualities of the soprano and contralto are united with very remarkable effect. Her style is pure but florid; and the voice, particularly in the upper register, fresh, and the notes richly and heartily delivered. She excels in elegance of gesture and attitude and a fascinating manner. She is evidently a thoroughbred *cantatrice.* Señora Garbato makes her debut tomorrow night in San Francisco, at Musical Hall, where she will share the program with the Philharmonic Society under the direction of the accomplished violinist, Martin Simonsen. About noon today an alcoholic still in the Novelty Distillery on Price Street [Eighth and Folsom],

half way between the city and Mission Dolores, burst with a terrific explosion; six men were scalded: Mr. Bernard Bird, a cooper, proprietor of the Mountain Inn, and Mr. Carroll, a carpenter, were so severely injured that they later died; Messrs. M. Barnett and H. Herschfeld, resident owners of the distillery; B. Isaacs, rectifier; and Solomon Isaacs, foreman. A Creole woman from the West Indies, Mrs. Emily Edwards, saved the lives of four men, for she was the only person to pull them out and cover them from the air. The entire building was quickly in flames and in half an hour was a mass of ruins. This was, with one exception, the largest establishment of the kind in the United States, the building and apparatus having cost $300,000. The total loss was $120,000. When the firemen were inside the building, the center wall fell, severely injuring four of them and killing Thomas T. Seward, of Volunteer Co. No. 7.

November 3. Mr. Henry L. Goodwin, the superintendent of the Penny Post Company, has sued Postmaster Charles L. Weller again, in Justice Smith's Court, for damages on account of the alleged detention of mail matter. The plaintiff was non-suited on the trial yesterday. We are informed that the agent of a business directory recently made has been able to gather 44,000 names. Adding to these the women and children and Spaniards, Mexicans and Chinese, the population may be estimated at at least 60,000 inhabitants. The Nicaragua Steamship Company's *Uncle Sam*, Captain Baldwin, arrived from San Juan with 680 passengers and bringing news of the surrender of the city of Granada to Colonel Walker.

November 4. Workmen are busily engaged fitting up the new Post Office on Battery Street under the Custom House. There will be 1800 boxes for the use of the office, besides ample room for the accommodation of the public. Jackson, in Amador County, is to be lighted with gas. In the U. S. Circuit Court, M. H. McAllister Judge, Mr. Benham, of council for the prisoner, submitted a motion for a new trial of Mr. Julius Levy, on the ground that the whole proceeding had been *eram non judice*, as it appeared that the venire for the jury had been drawn from the State at large.

November 5. The banking house of Sanders & Brenham closed this morning. The firm has been largely engaged in Russian trade, but the failure is attributed to other causes. It is believed that the creditors of the house will eventually be paid every dollar of their demands. Judge McAllister, of the U. S. Circuit Court, passed sentence upon Mr. Julius Levy, convicted last week of smuggling cigars. The steamer *Sonora* carries down today about 800 passengers, and treasure to the amount of $2,184,199.07. Owing to the disturbances in Nicaragua, the *Cortes*, which left today for San Juan del Sur, did not ship any treasure on the present trip; she carried about 250 passengers. Accounts of marvellous gold discoveries have been received from Tuolumne County, surpassing in wonder the early reports from Gold Bluffs. Table Mountain is confidently believed to contain deposits of gold exceeding in richness all former discoveries in the State. The anticipations of an uprising of the Indians in Oregon and Washington have been more than realized, murders of some 60 whites and 70 Chinese having been reported. The Surveyor General advertises for proposals to construct a wagon road across the Sierra Nevada by way of the South Fork of the American River, Johnson's Pass, Sutter's Pass and Carson Cañon. The expense of building the road is limited to $100,000. The total value of the real and personal property in San Francisco is estimated at $32,076,672. The financial condition of the City and County of San Francisco is still somewhat gloomy. The county has been liquidating some small claims at the rate of $2.00 scrip, with 10 per cent interest, for one dollar indebtedness. Within the last six years there has been paid into the City and County treasury nearly $11,000,000, and all of this has been drawn out; the present indebtedness amounts to at least $4,000,000, the taxable property of the city and county is about $35,000,000, and the population is generally estimated at 55,000. The following new papers have

sprung into life recently: the San Francisco *American,* a Know Nothing daily; the Shasta *Republican,* a Know Nothing weekly; the *Old Mountaineer,* an independent weekly published in Quincy, Plumas County, by Lovejoy and McElwain; and the *Weekly Ledger,* also independent, printed at Volcano, Amador County. The two *Tribunes* of Sacramento have been united in one issue. The types and press for a weekly paper went up to Benicia last week. The *Bulletin* came out today in an enlarged form, and is now nearly the size of the *Sun.* From the Sacramento *Union* we learn that a company has been formed for the purpose of competing with the Sitka Company for the ice trade of this State. Clear Creek heads in the Sierras forty miles east of Placerville and flows twenty miles below its source through flats known as "The Meadows," and it is from these that it is planned to get the ice. The *Antelope* brought down from Sacramento last night 250 brace of ducks for market.

November 6. The steamship *California,* taking the place of the *Columbia* in consequence of the comparatively small capacity of the latter, left for Fort Vancouver this morning, taking troops to the seat of the Indian war. Among the passengers were Major General Wool, Major Cross, Lieutenant Bonnycastle, Lieutenant Arnold, Captain Keyes, and fifty soldiers from the Presidio under the command of the last named. With the troops now in Oregon and those going up today, the forces in the field will number about one thousand. The San Francisco Presidio is nearly deserted. Only a sergeant, a corporal, and twelve men are left behind as guard and to fire a salute to the French flag on the arrival of a national vessel bearing the flag of that empire. In the County Court, before Judge Freelon, on a petition of F. M. Pixley, a writ *de lunatico inquiriendo* was taken out for the examination of the mental condition of R. N. Morrison, formerly County Judge and a distinguished member of the Bar. He was sent to the Asylum in charge of a special deputy. Although the Board of Aldermen have refused to order an election for members of that Board to fill the vacancies occasioned by the resignations of Messrs. Rankin and Brittan, the Democrats have nominated Mr. Lorenzo Hubbard and Mr. Peter Campbell. Mrs. Woodward, one of the oldest and most popular theatrical ladies in California, took a benefit at the Union Theater. *Lucretia Borgia,* with Mrs. Woodward as Lucretia; the comedietta of *Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady,* in which Mr. and Mrs. Stark appeared; and the delightful comedy of *Spring and Autumn, or The Bride of Fifty,* were given.

This morning the Potrero claim on the other side of Mission Creek was confirmed, by the U. S. Land Commissioner, to Josefa de Haro and the other heirs of Francisco de Haro. This claim had been covered with settlers for two years. The claim of Peter T. Scherrebeck, for 800 varas in the City of San Francisco, was rejected. Both decisions were rendered by Commissioner Farwell. Capt. William A. Richardson's title to twenty leagues of land in Mendocino County was also pronounced valid. Mr. Balie Peyton has been appointed receiver for Sanders and Brenham, bankers, who suspended yesterday.

November 7. "Man-trap Number One Thousand" was the inscription on a large board which was set up in a hole through the planking in Clay Street between Kearny and Montgomery last night. Colonel Snowdon, one of the Directors of the State Prison, reports that the wall around the San Quentin State Prison grounds is now completed, and that there are 407 prisoners confined there. Mr. Frank Denver, who has been superintending the government lighthouse on the Farallone Islands, states that the work will undoubtedly be completed in the course of two or three weeks. In the matter of the attempt to introduce a negro as a witness in the case of James Gray, indicted for manslaughter on the American ship *Levanter* for the killing of the mate, Judge McAllister ruled that the testimony of negro witnesses was incompetent, stating that the law of the State in which the Federal Court is held must rule the decision. The Jury acquitted the prisoner. The notorious "Cock-Eye" Fury, who had escaped from the State Prison, was

arrested last evening on the Clay Street Wharf, by Officer John McKenzie, and lodged in the station house after a hard battle. Mr. McKenzie received a slight wound on the face. A reward of $300 had been offered for the arrest of the prisoner. The American Theater reopened with the Ravel Troupe, consisting of twenty-three persons, led by the celebrated Gabriel Ravel. The Chinese pantomime of *Kim-Ka; or The Adventures of an Aeronaut* was presented, followed by the Martinetti Family in a series of unrivalled feats of grace and agility and the celebrated comic ballet of *Godenski; or The Skaters of Wilna,* in which Gabriel Ravel took the part of Godenski.

November 8. In the Twelfth District Court, E. Norton, Judge, in the case of John W. James against the City, the jury returned a verdict of $5,000 damages for the plaintiff. It appeared that the plaintiff had broken his leg by a fall of fifteen or twenty feet down an excavation on the upper part of Clay Street, there being no railing around the excavation or signal for the protection of passengers. This is the first case of its kind which has been decided in this city and may therefore be regarded as a precedent. The Board of Assistant Aldermen passed an ordinance reducing the number of police officers to forty and providing that they shall dress uniformly. The uniform consists of a single-breasted dark blue coat, with a star worked on the left breast, a glazed cap with the policeman's initials, and a belt with his number on it. John A. McLaughlin was elected keeper of the Brannan Street bridge, at a salary of $100 per month. The friends of Mr. Stephen C. Massett, in view of the loss of nearly all the means he had by the failure of Sanders & Brenham, are soliciting him to give a musical entertainment in order to make up his loss.

Mr. Thomas O. Larkin has commenced a suit in the Fourth District Court to quiet the title to certain water-lot property which the Mayor and Common Council of Benicia have advertised for sale under the provision of the Act of the Legislature of March 3, 1855, ceding certain property to the City of Benicia. The plaintiff is one of the founders of the City of Benicia and owned the land whereon it stands, jointly with one Robert Semple. The *Solano County Herald* is the name of the new weekly just established at Benicia.

Sometime during the early hours of the morning some burglars entered the quarters of Mr. Flood, over his "Auction Lunch" at the corner of Washington and Sansome streets, and broke open a room in which a man who keeps a stall in the market had placed in the trunk of Mr. Flood, for safe keeping, $900 in gold. They secured the money and also packed up the silverware belonging to Mr. Flood and were making off with it when they dropped some of the latter and awakened lodgers in an adjoining room. The thieves, however, escaped with the money, but left the silverware.

November 9. To remedy the evil of ballot box stuffing, the *Alta California* suggests that a list of voters' names be kept, as at present, and every name checked and numbered as ballots are given. That each ballot be numbered as it is deposited in the box was also suggested, or the name of the person offering the same endorsed thereon. The official report of Roman, Jones and Cohen, the assignees of Adams & Co. was made before Judge Hager in the Fourth District Court.

The amount of bills receivable is stated as	$288,484.22
The amount of cash tags ditto,	290,315.95
	$578,800.17

Of the large amount of bills receivable, the assignees have only succeeded in collecting $20,218.16. The total amount of their collection on bills receivable and from the sale of personal property, etc., is $25,980.24. The expenses which the assignees have incurred are stated at $48,991.80, and the amount of cash on hand $101,192.02. It appears

from the cash account of the assignees that they received from A. A. Cohen, receiver, $124,803.55; and notwithstanding what they have collected, it appears that the cash account is short by $23,611.53. The amount of other assets is nominal. In reply to an order served on Palmer Cook & Co., they have filed their answer denying that they have any effects of Adams & Co., other than as the bailees of the assignees, and that they have on deposit $105,230.02. This money has not yet been turned over to Mr. Naglee, the new receiver.

November 10. W. S. Taylor, acting auditor on the alleged defalcation of Joseph L. Folsom, submitted a report in the U. S. Circuit Court, M. H. McAllister, Judge. The balance found due the United States is $275,736.37. It is suggested that the deficit was possibly due to the destruction of the numerous vouchers in one of the fires of 1850 or 1851. The *Sea Bird* will be put upon the Sacramento route today to run in connection with the *Defender* on alternate days and in opposition to the Steam Navigation Company. A benefit was held this evening at the Union Theater, to Mrs. James Stark, the first actress who came to California from the Atlantic States. She has been intimately connected with the rise and progress of theatrical affairs in this State since that time, and has always been a favorite with playgoers. The tragedy *Gisippus*, with Mr. Stark in the title rôle, was given; Mr. J. B. Booth appeared as Fabius, and Mrs. Stark as Sophronia.

A little girl was run over on the corner of Pacific and Dupont streets and considerably injured. The horseman rode on without slackening rein. It is reported that eighteen white men were killed, twenty-five wounded, and four hundred soldiers and volunteers compelled to retreat after a pitched battle fought at Cow Creek Canyon, Rogue River Valley, on November 7, against approximately three hundred Indians. Recent Indian troubles in Shasta Valley were also reported.

The Allies (French, English and Sardinians) are making preparations for a grand fete, to take place on the 26th inst. in honor of the fall of Sebastopol. A banquet will be prepared at South Park, for 3,000 persons. A committee has been appointed for the purpose of receiving subscriptions. Among those representing the French are Joseph Emric, J. B. Bayerque, L. Rebard, and L. Delafont; the English include Dr. Wallace, C. J. Hughes, John Melville, John Searle, and Charles McC. Delaney; while D. Ghirardelli and N. Larco are among the Sardinians.

The Washington *Star* reports that the expedition to the Levant in search of camels, to be used on the western desert between the Atlantic and Pacific, had reached Tunis early in August and had left for Malta. The Bey of Tunis, on learning of the object of the expedition, had presented Major Wayne and the officers of the *Supply* with two fine camels.

November 11. In the Court of Sessions, Judge Freelon passed sentence on Robert Cushing, convicted of aggravated assault upon James P. Casey, to pay a fine of $1,000, even though his previous good character had been set up and proved. A party of Chinese have established a small settlement to the south of Rincon Point, where they are now briskly engaged in catching fish. The largest fish are sent to market, and the minnows are dried and salted by the half acre on a flat space of ground above the shore. Some of these men have recently returned from the mines, driven out of the mountains by the impolitic taxation levied upon Chinamen. It is stated that a new banking house will go into operation in this city about the first of January, and that C. K. Garrison, of San Francisco; Fretz & Ralston, of Panama; and E. D. Morgan, of New York, will be the principal partners. In the Twelfth District Court, the San Francisco Gas Company, by their attorney, James C. Stebbins, have instituted a suit against the city to recover the amount of $40,000, on their contract for lighting the streets.

November 12. The newspapers reported the murder (on the 10th) of Hon. Isaac B. Wall, Collector of the Port of Monterey, and Thomas S. Williamson, an officer of Monterey County, on the road to San Luis Obispo. Wall had been a member of the State Legislature in 1852 and 1853, and was Speaker of the Assembly in 1853. In the Board of Supervisors a petition was presented from citizens of the Seventh Ward soliciting the Council to allow the Howard Engine Company No. 3 to remove into that ward; and another petition was received from other citizens of that ward, protesting against such removal because the Tiger Engine Co. No. 14 was already located there. Michael McKay petitioned to be paid $324 for a horse lost while engaged in carting offal from the County Jail, and John Morrison petitioned for $500 as compensation for a horse lost by falling through the planking. A joint resolution was concurred in, authorizing proposals to be received for the roofing of the City Hall providing the committee would pay half of the expense. The room of the Aldermen, together with the third story chambers, had been materially injured and defaced by the leakage of rain through the roof. Alderman Slocum stated that the City Hall keeper had made out a bill of $400 for swabbing up the present defective roof. The Board of Aldermen and Board of Assistants met in joint convention for the purpose of electing three commissioners to select public squares and sites for public buildings, and to lay off streets in the western addition of the city, under the provisions of the Van Ness land ordinance. Messrs. Horace Hawes, M. Hayes, and Charles H. Gough were elected. The Board of Aldermen appropriated $7,000 to Pennsylvania Fire Engine Co. No. 12, for the purpose of paying for the engine house now in process of erection on Jackson Street between Dupont and Kearny.

November 13. A large number of Chinamen marched through the streets this morning in funeral procession, the mourners scattering bits of paper before the coffin bearers. The occasion was the receipt of twenty dead bodies from Sacramento on the boat last night, for exportation to China. In the Land Commissioner's Court, a motion was made to reopen the Limantour case for the admission of testimony to prove that the grant is a forgery. Many of the persons who held under adverse titles and who had made improvements upon the claim have purchased a release from Limantour, so that the number of contestants is much less than formerly. It is said that in this way Limantour has collected nearly $100,000.

November 14. A frame building on the Clay Street Wharf gave way last evening, and let the house partially fall down, with a great crash. The worms had eaten the piles away. About six weeks ago a larceny was committed in Hillman's Temperance House and the thief escaped. On Friday night last, Officer Donnelly, of the Police, was appointed to a man who called himself Gray (and who had about his person some $5,600) with instructions to watch him and see that no foul play was practiced to get his money. The officer kept with Gray for considerable time and thus involved himself in a difficulty with C. P. Duane, in which both were seriously bruised on the head and Mr. Duane narrowly escaped with his life from two shots fired after him by Mr. Donnelly; after which, the officer lost sight of Gray and heard no more of him until Monday, when the information was lodged at the Station House that Gray was the thief. Mr. C. P. Duane yesterday entered a complaint in the Mayor's Court against Policeman Donnelly for an attempt to kill by shooting him. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company's steamer *John L. Stephens*, Capt. R. H. Pearson, arrived this morning with 994 passengers, among whom were J. C. Palmer, Bishop Amat, Capt. J. B. G. Isham, and A. A. Cohen. A letter was printed in the *Alta* complaining that the new superintendent of the Brannan Street drawbridge had kept the bridge open more than an hour, while a wood scow made her exit, when fifteen minutes would have been ample, thus subjecting a crowd of people on both sides to useless delay. Dr. L. A.

Birdsall has resigned as Superintendent of the San Francisco Mint, and Peter F. Lott has been appointed to take his place. The salary of the office is $4,500 per annum.

November 15. The *Antelope* last night brought down from Sacramento between two and three hundred celestials, driven away from the mines by the operation of the new license act. The result will be to fill San Francisco and the other cities of the State with a useless class of men whose labor can not be made available, while at the same time it will retard the development of the gold region. At the meeting of the Board of Delegates last night, the committee appointed to superintend the engraving of a certificate of membership for the use of the Fire Department reported that they had executed their work and brought forth a beautifully wrought scroll containing the certificate of membership surrounded by a shaded border filled with the devices of the Fire Department, together with the emblems of Peace, Commerce, Plenty, Wisdom, and Virtue. The picture was with common consent voted the most beautiful and costly certificate ever issued by any fire department. This elegant piece of workmanship was designed by Charles Nahl; and the engraving was done by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch & Edson, of New York. It cost $4,500, and the money has been forwarded to pay for it. William R. Ryan, author of *California Sketches*, published in London, and connected for some time with the press of New York City, died of yellow fever at the Circus Street Hospital in New Orleans, on the 9th of October. He came to California in 1847 in Capt. Henry M. Naglee's Co. "D", 1st Regiment of New York Volunteers. He was a man of much talent not only as a writer but as an artist.

In the Fourth District Court, in the case of S. P. Dewey vs. John Lambeer et al., an action of ejectment for lot designated No. 110 was tried before Judge Hager. The plaintiff claimed under an alleged grant made by Alcalde Leavenworth in 1848, to one Hall, a lieutenant in the U. S. Navy, who never occupied the land. The defendants acquired possession of the land when the former decision of the Supreme Court, that the alcalde grants were void, was in force. The existence of a pueblo establishment within the city was denied by the defence. The grant was for a lot in the southern vicinity of the town and was made by Leavenworth, as alcalde of the district, which was said to extend to San Francisquito Creek. The defence contended that the Supreme Court had never decided that a pueblo establishment existed at Yerba Buena; but that it existed at Mission Dolores, or San Francisco de Asis. The testimony of Captain Richardson, Governor Alvarado, and Juan Castro was introduced to prove the fact that the pueblo establishment was at the Mission, and that the settlement of Yerba Buena, which extended to a line a little beyond California Street, was then undertaken by Captain Richardson, who built the first house on the place in the year 1835. It was argued by the defendants that Mission Dolores was converted into a pueblo by the Act of Secularization. The court charged the jury that at the date of the grant of Leavenworth to Hall the limits of the town of San Francisco, if such a town existed, were the same as they existed at the time the Mexican government ceased in California; that there was no law of the United States that authorized him to make it; nor was any such authority conferred upon him by any law which had its origin in California subsequent to its acquisition by the United States; that by the Mexican laws the mere laying out of a town and survey of lots does not change the property in lots, so as to vest the title to them in the town, whether such former owner be the Nation or a private person; that if the jury believed the evidence proved that the Pueblo of San Francisco was at the place known as the Mission Dolores, and that said pueblo did not embrace within its limit the land in controversy, the plaintiff cannot recover. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff. The case will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. In the Superior Court, an order was signed by Judge Shattuck for a writ of attachment to issue against the persons of John Bigler and Hon. Samuel Bell, Comptroller of the State; the original proceeding has also been ex-

tended to Hon. Charles Hempstead, Secretary of State, by an affidavit of counsel charging him with having made deeds to purchasers at the late State sale. The Hon. Samuel Bell has been arrested for alleged contempt of the process of the Superior Court. The present proceeding against Governor Bigler and Associate Commissioners is for an aggravated or double contempt.

November 16. We have learned that the motion to open the Limantour case on the side of the Government is intended to introduce testimony that the claim of Limantour for land within the City and also for lands on the islands in the Bay of San Francisco, was fabricated in the year 1852, in this country, on paper bearing the Government stamps of 1843. The new fatigue uniform of the National Guard of this city, received by the last steamer, consists of a dark blue frock coat with light blue trimmings, light blue pants with dark blue cord, dark blue cloth cap with light blue trimmings, and light blue pompon.

November 17. News from Nicaragua indicates that Walker is no longer a technical rebel, for he has been successful, and success changes rebels and traitors into patriots and heroes. The Legitimist (or Chammorista) party of Nicaragua have surrendered to Walker at Granada and by a treaty with him have agreed to suspend hostilities. The presidency of Nicaragua was offered him, which he refused. He did, however, accept the appointment of commander-in-chief of all the forces in Nicaragua.

A duel took place near this city between Mons. Derbec, editor of *L'Echo du Pacifique*, and Mons. De la Chapelle, formerly editor of *La Messager*. After an exchange of shots in which no injury ensued, a reconciliation took place. A large whale was found near Point San Pedro by the Coroner yesterday. The Metropolitan Theatre was crowded last evening to its utmost capacity, on the occasion of the complimentary concert to Stephen C. Massett, a large proportion of the audience being ladies. Signora Drusilla Garbato, Signor Luiji Garbato, Mrs. Voorhees, Mr. Martin Simonsen, Mr. Hamilton, Miss Louisa Paullin, Mrs. Wheatleigh and others took part in the program. We understand that the Union Hotel opposite Portsmouth Square, which once rented for $8,000 per month and was the rendezvous of fashion and political managers, has been rented for $1,000 per month and will soon be reopened. A building is going up on the corner of Kearny and Merchant streets, five feet seven inches in width and sixty feet in length.

Mr. Stephen Smith, who became a resident on this coast as early as 1843, died yesterday in this city. The deceased was about 86 years of age and a native of Dartmouth, Massachusetts.

November 18. St. Mary's Cathedral was densely thronged on the occasion of the interesting ceremony of the presentation to Bishop Alemany, of the Pallium, brought recently from the Pope at Rome by Dr. Amat, Bishop of Monterey, who delivered the address. The Pallium is an ornament made of lamb' wool, spotted with purple crosses, and is worn as a token of spiritual jurisdiction over the churches in the province. It is regarded as an emblem of humility, charity and innocence.

November 19. A difficulty between General William H. Richardson and Charles Cora took place on the evening of the 16th, which was understood to have been settled. Yet on the evening of the 17th, a pistol was put to Richardson's breast and he was shot before he could disengage himself from the grasp of a man with whom he had been led to believe there was a complete understanding. It was apparently as cold-blooded a murder as has ever taken place in San Francisco. The Monumental bell was tapped and many of the members of the old Vigilance Committee rallied to its call. There was talk of lynching, but wiser counsel prevailed. The Sheriff arrested Mr. Samuel Brannan, having been informed that he had addressed the crowd in the Oriental Hotel in an attempt to incite the populace to take the law into their own hands and rescue Cora from the authorities. Mr. Brannan, however, was released after explaining that he was

merely talking to one or two acquaintances inside the hotel. Fifty men were selected from the Vigilance Committee to guard the County Jail where Cora is now confined. Detachments from the City Guard and the San Francisco Blues were kept in readiness at the Armory during the night.

"The excitement on Saturday night was immense," reported the *Bulletin* on its editorial page, "and strongly reminded us of the old Vigilance Committee times. We passed through those times and scenes, when an incensed and outraged people having no faith in the corrupt ministers of the law, took the administration of public justice in their own hands, and inflicted merited punishment on the heads of some of the murderers of those days. It was a fearful responsibility, and one that we do not wish again to see resorted to if it can be avoided. We think there is no necessity now for any such demonstration, and if the sheriffs and the jury will but do their duty, we are confident the Court will do what is right. In the present case all depends on the action of the Sheriff and the jury. Let there be an impartial jury, and give the assassin a fair trial. Thus acted the Vigilance Committee. If he be guilty *he must be hung!* It is due to this community that he should be. The Court, we are satisfied, will be all right, and we warn the sheriff and the gambler friends of this man Cora, that any attempt at rescuing him either by a packed jury or by influence of gold, will raise such a feeling in this community as will end with more fearful consequences than attended the expulsion of such parties from Vicksburg. And now we want to know why the laws of this State against gambling are not enforced? The officers know very well that these hells still exist. . . . Does anyone, do the officers of the law, wish to know where this den is? We answer, in the upper story of Stephen Whipple's building on Commercial Street. And now about the disreputable houses, at one of which this man Cora was 'kept.' Have the Committee of Aldermen, appointed for the purpose agreed on their report? We await their action, and that action is needed promptly. General Richardson was the last victim. Who will be the next?" Cora's friends are said to have money, and it is stated that his paramour and friends will furnish thousands of dollars to fee lawyers and to procure a jury that will release him. "We do not believe in mob law," states the *Alta California*. "We would have the courts try this man fairly, but without a bribed jury, or one picked up to suit the occasion . . . composed of thieves and murderers. . . . We ask the people . . . to watch this case every step it goes; and to hold to a strict accountability every public officer who has anything to do with it."

The Coroner's jury yesterday found "that the said William H. Richardson came to his death by a pistol shot fired from the hands of one Charles Cora, on the night of Saturday, November 17th, between the hours of six and seven o'clock, and that the said Richardson had gone in company with the said Cora to a place near the corner of Clay and Leidesdorff streets . . . in front of a store occupied by Fox & O'Connor, and that he was there deprived of his life . . . by the said Cora, and from the facts produced, the jury believe that the said act was premeditated, and that there was nothing to mitigate the same." At half past eleven o'clock this morning General Richardson's remains were taken from the U. S. Marshal's office in the Merchants Exchange, by the Masonic Fraternity, and hence to the Calvary Church on Bush Street, followed by a procession of a large number of public officers, members of the legal profession, and his brother Masons. Services were performed by the Rev. Dr. Scott. The pall-bearers were John A. Monroe, Judge Hall McAllister, E. F. Beale, John E. Addison, A. A. Selover, John Nugent, A. J. Bowie, S. C. McKibben, Thomas H. Stevens, and William H. Chevers. From the church the procession marched into Montgomery Street and thence to the Lone Mountain Cemetery. All the local courts adjourned this morning out of respect to General Richardson's memory. The deceased was 33 years of age. He had been Quartermaster General of the California Militia; was a member of the Demo-

cratic National Convention in 1852; and since March, 1853, had been U. S. Marshal for the Northern District of California.

The funeral rites of Walter Streets, colored, were performed yesterday by Rev. Bishop Kip. Among those present were Captain Garrison, Captain Ritchie, Mr. Whelan, Mr. Jewett (the artist) and others. Street had come to California last year with his master, Colonel Strode, who had previously given him his freedom.

Most of the wheat lately received in New York from San Francisco has been sold for export to Europe. Grown in Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania, it was originally shipped from New York to the Pacific, but not finding a market here, it was sent back again. The *Megunsticook* arrived from Rio with 800,000 pounds of coffee and 300 tons of coal, consigned to Messrs. Hussey, Bond & Hale. Governor Bigler and Hon. Samuel Bell were released on a writ of habeas corpus. News has been received of a fight at the Salinas River between a party of men suspected of being concerned in the murder of Wall and Williamson, and the Sheriff's party who had undertaken to arrest a desperate character named Garcia, who had taken refuge in a house at the Salinas, and were fired upon by those within. Joaquin de la Torre was killed, and Charles Taylor, keeper of the Point Pinos light, and A. C. Beckwith, of the U. S. Hotel, Monterey, who were with Sheriff Keating, were wounded. Garcia and his party escaped.

November 20. The *Bulletin* stated editorially that: "There is now in this community a feeling of deep distrust, and we warn Mr. Sheriff Scannell, that though he be as innocent himself as an angel from heaven, if by *any* means the prisoner escape, the sin will be laid at the door of the Sheriff and not of his deputies. . . . What an outrage upon the feelings and good sense of this community to place such a man as Billy Mulligan in charge of the county jail! What an eternal disgrace to this community, that this man Scannell, said to have been keeper of the 'Osceola' gambling house, should be elected to the office of Sheriff of this county! And how was he elected? By the same influence that has thus far sustained Broderick, Palmer, Cook & Co., and the like class of men who resort to any means to secure themselves and their friends the spoils of office. . . . If Mr. Scannell has any pretentions to honesty at all, let him forthwith remove Billy Mulligan from the position he now holds. . . . That no effort will be spared to get Cora clear, begins now to be made apparent. His friends are already at work. *Forty thousand dollars* it is said has already been subscribed for the purpose. Of this sum five thousand dollars will be sufficient to cover the lawyer's fees and the court charges, and the balance can be used as occasion may require. *One bad man* on the jury will be sufficient to prevent an agreement. Look well to the jury! It is said also that an attempt will be made to change the *venue,* so as to have this matter tried in another county. Another hope is that almost every honest man will have made up his mind on the case, and will not be allowed to serve. . . . This excluding a man from the jury because he may have expressed an opinion is one of the greatest evils attending jury trials. How can any honest man avoid, to some extent, forming an opinion? . . . The welfare of this community, and indeed the reputation of the State is now at stake.

"We do not wish to see another Vigilance Committee. . . . We hope as far as the judges on the bench are concerned, there is no necessity. . . . We want a good Deputy to keep the County jail, and that we have not. We want good officers of the law to break up the gambling dens and move the houses of prostitution from their present localities, and these we have not. We want a bolder and more efficient Mayor and Common Council, who will . . . *do their duty,* and these we have not. Now what we propose is this: If the jury which tries Cora is packed, either *hang the Sheriff,* or drum him out of town, and make him resign. If Billy Mulligan lets his friend Cora escape, *hang Billy Mulligan.* Or drive him into banishment. . . . And as to the Council, if they shirk their duty . . . let a deputation of citizens wait on the City Authorities and ask

them to *resign,* and call a new election; and if they don't do it *drum them out of town!* . . . Now is the time to give warning to these parties to avoid the *necessity* of a Vigilance Committee. And if the above authorities do not act right now, we believe such an organization will be resorted to, and it is to show what this feeling is, that we publish this warning. We hope the time and necessity of Vigilance Committees in San Francisco has passed. This case of Cora's and the action of the Council and other authorities on the above mentioned subjects will decide the point."

The clipper ship *Galatea* left for Hongkong, with between two and three thousand Chinese passengers, all from the mines. A lithographic view of the Pacific Engine house, executed by Victor Hoffman, a very skillful and deserving young artist, is on sale at all the book stores. News from the Sandwich Islands arrived by the bark *Yankee* yesterday. Yankee Sullivan, professor of the noble art of self defence, is there at present and proposes opening a gymnasium.

From Meiggs Wharf around the point to Broadway a fine level road has been cut down from the cliff, admitting the passage of vehicles. At the end of Stockton Street is situated an office where toll is collected by the company of enterprising men who have secured the right of way from Kearny to Powell Street for four years. About $30,000 have been expended in the work. Baron Steinberger's port-packing establishment and the Eureka Flour Mills impart an unwonted degree of liveliness at that end of the city which, since the exodus of Meiggs, has seemed rather on the decline. The last of the treasure from the ill-fated *Yankee Blade* has been raised by Captain Randall, who is said to have cleared above $80,000 by his diving operations at the wreck. News has been received of the eruption of the volcano Mauna Loa, in the Sandwich Islands. Before the U. S. Land Commission, Commissioner Felch delivered a very interesting opinion in deciding the claim of John A. Sutter for the Moquelumne Indians, for four square leagues of land on the south side of the Cosumnes River, claimed from Governor Micheltorena in 1844. A decree of confirmation was entered. The claim of Robert Walkinshaw for Posolmi, including El Posito de las Animas, in Santa Clara County, was confirmed.

No one has the money. Such is the apparent result of the demand made on Palmer, Cook & Co. and Cohen for the money of Adams & Co. Palmer, Cook & Co. swear that Cohen, Jones & Roman have the funds, and Cohen swears that *he* has not the money but Palmer, Cook & Co. have it. "We begin to think," states the *Bulletin,* "that both parties have by accident told the truth. Cohen *did* have the money and deposited it with Palmer, Cook & Co., and Palmer, Cook & Co. have not the money now, because it has already been used for other purposes."

November 21. Regarding the death of General Richardson, the *Alta California* prints the following: "On Thursday evening last, General Richardson waited upon two ladies—his wife and Mrs. Whiting—to the American Theatre. While there, one of the ladies noticed that a man in the pit was gazing intently at them. . . . The ladies became exceedingly annoyed, and General Richardson left his seat to go and learn what was the meaning of this conduct. It turned out that . . . the paramour of the murderer Cora was seated directly behind General Richardson and the ladies accompanying him, and that the man's gazes . . . were intended for that quarter. Efforts were probably then made to have this woman and her companion removed . . . but we believe this purpose was not effected. We do not know the name of the person in the pit, nor the man who accompanied the woman Belle Cora to the theatre. One of them may have been the murderer. . . . Richardson undoubtedly thought, understanding the man he had to deal with, that he had better terminate the controversy upon almost any terms. Cora . . . led the victim to believe the difficulty was at an end, then basely murdered him in an unguarded moment."

(To be continued)

MARIANO GUADALUPE VALLEJO
and
SONOMA
A Biography and a History

By George Tays

Chapter VI

POLITICS, PROMOTION AND POWER

When Nicolas Gutierrez arrived in Monterey from Los Angeles on September 6, 1836, to assume the governorship, he found that town at peace. Politically all went well on the surface until the end of October, when a revolutionary storm suddenly broke.

From all accounts, the California politicos, Alvarado, Castro, Estrada, and the members of the territorial legislature, wanted to get rid of the new Governor. To do so they plotted and used every available pretext as an excuse for insurrection. When Juan B. Alvarado and the customs collector, Angel Ramirez, engaged in a controversy with the Governor over the jurisdiction of the customs guards, such a situation was created. During this quarrel Gutierrez threatened Alvarado with arrest, and the latter fled to the Salinas Valley. From there he went to San José and enlisted the aid of José Castro and others in starting a revolution. Leaving his friends to carry on the recruiting of an army, Alvarado continued on to Sonoma, to lay his plan before his young uncle, Mariano G. Vallejo, and if possible to gain his support.

Alvarado arrived in Sonoma about October 24, much to Vallejo's surprise, for he himself had just returned from Monterey five days before, whither he had gone to confer with Alvarado and Gabriel de la Torre. At that conference, Vallejo had pledged himself to lead a force of two hundred fully armed and equipped men. But in those five days he had not been able to complete his preparations, for the civilians of Sonoma and San José who were to make up most of his army could not get ready for a campaign on such short notice; most of them were poor, and had to provide their families with the necessities of life before setting out, which was not an easy task. Vallejo was busy with Indian affairs. When Alvarado arrived, he was about to set out for Napa, where the Napajos were holding a great feast in honor of Chief Solano. Alvarado accompanied him and on the way gave Vallejo a detailed account of what had taken place at Monterey and elsewhere. Don Guadalupe learned that Don Juan Alvirez and José Castro with their com-

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO AT SONOMA

From an etching made in 1883 by Henry Chapman Ford, in the Melville Schweitzer Memorial Collection, California Historical Society.

pany were ready to march as soon as he should give the word. This so pleased Vallejo that he provided Alvarado with money and a sizeable escort and sent him back to San José to rouse the people and there await his coming; all of which instructions Alvarado promised to carry out.[1]

Upon his arrival at San José, about October 31, he found José Castro with some thirty men ready to march on Monterey. Evidently Don Juan Bautista forgot or ignored Vallejo's instructions; for the following day, November 1, he and Castro set out with the army for the capital. On the way they were joined by other recruits, including Isaac Graham and his twenty-five American riflemen. They entered Monterey on the night of November 3, with about one hundred men, and received the surrender of the Presidio on November 5.

Alvarado's letter to Vallejo, dated November 7, would make it seem that Alvarado had received a very definite impression that Vallejo hesitated to co-operate in the revolution. He said in part:

> When I left you at Napa . . . I returned with the feeling of not having been able to obtain your support in attaining an object of public benefit and I was greatly troubled. . . . We named the expedition thus: "Vanguard of the Division of Operations," giving assurances that you were bringing up the rear with the remainder of the forces, and that you were the commander-in-chief of the army. It was necessary for us to employ this ruse because only with that hope would a multitude of people join us resolved to die. But we would say that you had been delayed because your troops were in campaign, and that you had sent word to us that we were to attack Monterey. . . . Up to now the inhabitants are still awaiting your arrival, and upon it depends whether we attain with great honor an enterprise that is praised on all sides. . . .[2]

This letter makes it plain that Vallejo had not promised to co-operate, as he claimed later.

As soon as Gutierrez surrendered, José Castro became acting commandant general and governor. On November 6, he convened the Legislature as a constituent congress and issued a proclamation congratulating the people. The following day, November 7, in another printed proclamation he declared California independent of Mexico. The territory was erected into a free and sovereign state. The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion was declared the state religion. A constitution was provided for; M. G. Vallejo was appointed commandant general; and the municipalities of California were given due notice of all acts.[3]

Copies of the two proclamations were sent to Vallejo along with Alvarado's letter. To Don Guadalupe it was a great and doubtless very gratifying surprise to find himself suddenly elevated to the supreme military command of California. He was still a young man, but twenty-eight, and one of the junior lieutenants in the territory, when suddenly he found himself the commandant general of the army in California. Although he had expressed himself as unwilling to risk taking part in the revolution, and though he now professed his unworthiness to occupy that high post, nevertheless, like any

other ambitious young man would have done, when greatness was thrust upon him, he accepted it.

When Vallejo received the news, he prepared at once for the journey to Monterey. He put his frontier affairs in order, left his brother Salvador in command of the troops and, obeying the summons of the Legislature, set out for the capital with a small force. There he arrived late in November, and on the 29th, took the oath of allegiance to the new government, assumed the office of commandant general, and issued a grandiloquent proclamation to the people, which began:

Fellow-citizens: The sovereign legislative assembly of the free state of Alta California calls me to its aid, and I obey its supreme dictates, putting myself at the head of the brave men who surround me, and accepting the commandancy general for the public welfare, whose slave alone I am. . . .[4]

Once again Vallejo had disregarded his oath of loyalty to the Mexican Government. Then in order that other officers might not complain that a mere lieutenant was the commander-in-chief, the Constituent Congress promoted Vallejo to be a colonel of cavalry, dating his commission as of December 11, 1836. Its decree follows:

No. 2.

Citizen José Castro, President of the Congress.
Congress has decreed:

1. Citizen Mariano G. Vallejo is granted the rank of colonel of the troops to which he belongs.
2. The governor of the state will issue the necessary order, in accordance with the preceding provision.
3. This decree will be communicated to the governor of the state for his knowledge and approval. It is ordered printed, published, and circulated for its accomplishment. Given at the State House, Monterey, November 29, 1836.

José Castro, President. Juan B. Alvarado, Secretary.[5]

On December 7, the California Congress issued two decrees, appointing Juan B. Alvarado as provisional governor, and giving him the rank of colonel of the state militia. Two days later Castro adjourned the Congress and Alvarado took office on December 10. Thus at the end of 1836, the two youths, Vallejo and Alvarado, aged twenty-eight and twenty-seven, respectively, uncle and nephew, were found serving as military and civil rulers of their native state.

About Christmas time, Alvarado went to southern California to put down opposition to his government, leaving Colonel Vallejo in control of affairs in Monterey. Hardly was Alvarado out of sight when Vallejo was recalled to Sonoma to suppress an Indian uprising. He turned over his authority to José Castro, who had recently been commissioned lieutenant colonel of militia by Alvarado.[6]

No sooner had Vallejo departed for Monterey than Zampay went on the warpath north of Sonoma. In the course of his raids, several of Vallejo's

friendly chiefs were slain, and Zampay appeared at Napa with about five hundred warriors. On receiving this news, Vallejo sent orders to his brother Salvador and Solano II[7] to prepare an expedition of about one hundred men. Late in December, Don Guadalupe returned to Sonoma and took charge of the campaign. His plan was to send a division, commanded by Don Salvador and Chief Solano, to help the Napajos fight Zampay, while he would lead a second force against the Satiyomis, who had been stealing horses and killing friendly Indians.

Chief Solano disapproved strongly of rushing the campaign against Zampay, whom he described as being very clever and having an excellent spy system which precluded any attempt at surprise, and urged that it was necessary to match his cleverness with greater astuteness. When he received a complete report of Zampay's forces and movements, Vallejo postponed the campaign until spring, and in the meantime he and his allies perfected their plans and gathered supplies. But when the spring of 1837 arrived, still other difficulties of a political nature arose, which prevented Vallejo from launching the campaign until midsummer.[8]

When Don Guadalupe returned from Monterey around Christmas time, he found his wife once more awaiting the arrival of the stork. On January 5, 1837, a baby girl was born. Later she was baptized at Mission Solano, with all the ceremony usual to the Roman Catholic Church, and given the name of Adelayda Rosario.

About this time, Vallejo brought the Zamorano printing press from Monterey to Sonoma, where he set it up for his own use, and where it remained until 1842.[9]

During the early part of 1837, other affairs at Sonoma needed attention. The Mission for over a year had been under the administration of Antonio Ortega, who had become involved in further scandals; this time, concerning his accounts. He was removed and Pablo Ayala succeeded him as administrator, serving until 1839. When Ayala assumed control, little was left of the Mission properties except the buildings themselves, a few animals, some small tracts of land, and perhaps not more than two hundred Indians, who lived in the neighborhood. Another matter was the appointment of Nicolás Higuera as deputy alcalde for the northern frontier by the Alcalde of San Francisco; but Vallejo refused to recognize any civil authority in his jurisdiction, and in this the Governor sustained him. At that time also, Vallejo commissioned his brother Salvador, who until then had held no official rank, as captain of cavalry, and made him military commander of the post. As Sonoma had become quite a village, Vallejo urged the state government to employ a competent surveyor to put settlers into formal possession of lots which he had granted to them. He also recommended various precautions to be taken against persons desiring grants merely for speculative purposes.[10]

Although the Commandant General was very busy at Sonoma during the

early part of 1837, his stay there was of short duration. Reports reached him that Alvarado was meeting with opposition in Los Angeles and other southern communities, and that his own presence was needed at the capital.

The news of the successful revolution in Monterey was a great surprise to all of the politically-minded Californians in the south. No sooner did they hear of Vallejo's connection with it, than they began to write to him expressing their personal opinions. Antonio M. Osio wrote on November 26, 1836, expressing his disapproval of the revolt, which had shocked him, and stating that he did not see how Vallejo could allow himself to be involved in it. On December 1 word came from Carlos A. Carrillo that he was overjoyed at the news, and offering his services in the south. Juan Bandini wrote on December 3, expressing himself as in a frenzy of grief over the matter and condemning the insurrection most vehemently. Pio Pico stated that he was unable to believe that Vallejo was implicated in such an affair. These few of the many letters written indicate how sentiment was divided. By December 23, however, opinion in the south had begun to shift very decidedly against the Monterey government. Carlos Carrillo wrote to Vallejo on that date giving him a detailed account of affairs and advising him to visit the south immediately in order to save the revolution.[11] It was this letter which convinced Alvarado that he must go south. The Governor had poor luck in his efforts to secure co-operation from the southerners, and it was this lack of success which brought Vallejo from Sonoma to Monterey in February, 1837.

One of the first problems which confronted Vallejo in his new office was the reorganization of the territorial defense. To accomplish this, presidial companies had to be recruited to full strength, the presidios rebuilt, supplies and war munitions assembled, and a territorial militia organized. To this task he set himself during January, 1837. On January 6, he sent fifty cans of powder to Monterey, and the following day he dispatched instructions to the presidial commanders concerning the recruiting of young men. During the month, some sixty youths came to Sonoma to learn military discipline and drill under Lieutenant Sabas Fernandez; while Salvador Vallejo journeyed to Fort Ross to buy arms and clothing. Three companies of eighty men each were formed at San Francisco, San José, and San Juan, and one of thirty men at Sonoma. By the end of January Vallejo's military plans were well under way.[12]

But in the south, Alvarado was meeting much political opposition; therefore Vallejo found it imperative to move his headquarters to Monterey, where he could be more in touch with the situation. Leaving Don Salvador in command at Sonoma, he took fifty men and set out for the capital.

When Castro went to Santa Barbara, he left Ramon Estrada with twelve men to garrison the capital. This situation gave rise to plots whereby certain troublemakers hoped to seize the town. Vallejo investigated the matter

and caused the arrest of Rafael Gonzalez, Francisco Pacheco, Juan Quintero, and eight convicts at San Juan. Gonzalez and the convicts were then sent to Sonoma for safekeeping. At Monterey another plot was brewing under the leadership of the ex-Friar Angel Ramirez and Captain Francisco Figueroa, brother of the former Governor. But Vallejo's presence dampened their spirits for the time being, and when Alvarado returned from Santa Barbara with affairs well in hand in the south, the General went back to Sonoma.[13]

Rumors spread that a large army of Mexicans was invading California from Sonora. On March 27, 1837, the Commandant General issued orders to all post commanders to concentrate their forces at Monterey. With fifty men he hastened south; but when he arrived at Santa Clara, on April 4, he discovered that it was a false alarm, and returned the troops to their respective stations. While engaged in these activities, Vallejo had Lieutenant Antonio M. Pico arrested and sent to Sonoma, which seems to have been the prison for all political offenders. It was claimed that this officer had attempted to incite a revolt among the militia at San José and San Francisco.[14]

By the middle of April, California was apparently at peace, and the busy Commandant was again at Sonoma. He began preparations for the campaign against Zampay and was about ready to set out when he received word that a new revolt had broken out in San Diego against Alvarado. Once again his expedition was postponed.

On June 1, Alvarado sent Vallejo details of the San Diego revolt and reported that Mexico was organizing an army to be sent to California. From Santa Clara the Governor, on June 6, wrote again to Vallejo, giving further information. He said that Castro's men were poorly armed, and that Vallejo should aid them with equipment; he also asked permission to send Salvador Vallejo, stationed temporarily at Santa Clara, south with a company. In closing he urged Vallejo to hasten to Santa Clara for a conference. Don Guadalupe replied on June 7, that he was ordering Salvador back to Sonoma so that he himself might go to Santa Clara, pointing out that the northern frontier could not be left without a commander. The following day he issued orders to Ensign Prado Mesa to place his troops at the Governor's disposal, and to Captain Sanchez at San Francisco to hold his force ready for action. When Don Salvador reached Sonoma, Vallejo set out for Santa Clara, arriving there on June 13.[15]

The General's interview with the Governor lasted from the 13th to the 18th, during which he informed him that he did not feel disposed to deprive the frontier of its protectors in order to defend more populous regions that were able to take care of themselves. He also lectured Alvarado on a number of other matters that did not meet with his approval. Then he suggested that henceforth when enemies were caught with arms in hand, their properties should be confiscated, to be used in paying for the campaigns. Finally he promised to send Captains Francisco Sanchez and Salvador Vallejo to

serve with the Governor in the south. Alvarado returned to Monterey and Vallejo to Sonoma to oversee the preparations for the campaign against Zampay. A few days later, Alvarado again appealed for aid, but as usual Vallejo was busy with preparations for his Indian campaign. However, on June 25, he issued orders to his officers south of the Bay to mass their troops at Monterey.[16]

With Alvarado in Santa Barbara and Vallejo in Sonoma, Monterey was left very much to itself. Evidently Vallejo's orders to mass troops there were not carried out promptly, for when in response to Alvarado's call for aid, Captain Villa, commander of Monterey, departed with most of his garrison, he left Jesus Pico in charge with only a handful of men. This created a situation made to order for the discontented Mexicans who had been plotting earlier in the year.

Captain Villa was hardly out of sight when, at 5:00 P. M. on July 1, Monterey was attacked by an insurgent band of thirty men led by Captain Figueroa, Juan N. Ayala, and Sergeant Santiago Aguilar, former director of the printing press; while Surgeon Alva, Angel Ramirez, and Cosme Peña tried to get recruits among the ranchos of the surrounding country. At the time of the attack, the post commander, Jesus Pico, was absent. The rebels seized the fort and all arms without resistance from the squad of men present, and held the town until July 3. The defenders sent a messenger to overtake and recall Captain Villa, and another one to Sonoma begging Vallejo to hasten to Monterey. Meanwhile, Pico raised a few volunteers in the interior and, aided by Graham and some of his riflemen, besieged the rebels in the fort.

The rebels had planned to attack on July 3, and Figueroa had counted on Ramirez and his volunteers; but the plan having leaked out, he was forced to advance on the 1st. Then when he saw how quickly the opposition was gathering its forces, Figueroa became thoroughly frightened and sent word to Ramirez to hasten. But the latter fled to Santa Clara instead and left him to his fate. Figueroa then offered to surrender if Vallejo would protect the lives of his men. Before the General's favorable reply could arrive, Figueroa was forced to surrender and Captain Villa put him and his officers in irons.

Don Guadalupe received the news early on July 3, and immediately set out from Sonoma. Later in the day he stopped at Petaluma, where he had built a large manor house, and gathered some soldiers stationed there. After writing further instructions to the commanders at San Francisco and Monterey, he continued his march. While still at San Rafael, on July 6, he heard that the capital had been retaken. From there he hastened to Santa Clara, where he arrested Ramirez, Alva, and several others. Several days later he released the soldiers and placed the leaders in the custody of his brother, Captain José Jesus Vallejo, at his ranch near Watsonville. He then went to the capital to protect the other prisoners and calm the spirit of vengeance

among the people of Monterey who wanted to hang the rebels. About July 14, Ramirez, Alva, Figueroa, Peña, Ayala, Aguilar, Manuel Crespo, and José Maria Maldonado were sent to Sonoma in irons. Vallejo then returned to Sonoma to take care of his involuntary guests.[17]

At Sonoma, the prisoners were locked in jail, but after a few days Vallejo had the irons removed and lodged the men in a big room in his house, where he placed his library at their disposal and assigned several servants to attend them. There he kept them, feeding and clothing them at his own expense until they were released sometime in September, 1837. When his former prisoners departed, they expressed their gratitude for his fine treatment by writing a poem, which Vallejo treasured for the remainder of his life.[18]

In July, 1837, Vallejo finally started his campaign against Zampay and the Yoloitoy Indians. The expedition was led by Don Salvador, assisted by Solano. Their instructions were to use special care to treat the tribes through which they passed with the greatest consideration, that their friendship might be won. The expedition was sent with the expectation that Chief Moti would hand Zampay over as he had promised. Solano, however, set no store by that, and unknown to Don Salvador, arranged with his men to capture Zampay alive. The campaign was conducted in the mountains about Clear Lake, where after many hardships and dangers, in which their pack animals were lost, Zampay was finally lassoed by a soldier, Manuel Cantua, and the expedition returned in triumph with its captive.

General Vallejo insisted on trying Zampay and executing him at once, as a protection to the inhabitants of the frontier; but Solano begged as a special favor that his life be saved. Vallejo finally yielded, though quite mystified, because Solano as a rule did not object to harsh punishment. The latter explained that Zampay dead was useless, while living he could serve as a hostage. If he was spared, Zampay would be indebted to them for saving his life. Zampay was then put in Solano's custody. The savage chief, once the terror of the frontier, became a peaceful citizen, a farmer and rancher, who at his death at an advanced age left his family considerable wealth. As a reward for his services, Solano received a grant of four leagues of land on the west side of the Sacramento Valley.[19]

On the same day that Zampay was captured, Vallejo received envoys from Succara, the Satiyomi chief. They came to beg a hearing and to make offers of a truce. Vallejo was suspicious of his old enemies, but was willing to make peace terms. A time and place for a meeting was set and the number of warriors Succara might bring was carefully stipulated. The meeting was held at the rancho of Nicolas Carriga, and after two days of discussion a treaty of eleven articles was drawn up, which was signed by Tucumin Succara and the three hostages with their crosses, Vallejo signing in like manner as a courtesy. Then the document was signed by Chief Solano I, Captain John B. Cooper, Captain Salvador Vallejo, and George Yount as witnesses.[20]

There followed the usual presentation of gifts by both parties: tobacco, beads, blankets, and colored kerchiefs from Vallejo; fishing nets, feather cloaks, dried fish, and deer skins from Succara. Vallejo passed on his gifts to Solano and his allies. Three days were devoted to dancing and feasting, with two more days of bull fighting and other sports. The truce did not last very long, however, because within a month Succara organized another campaign against the white people. This time he made use of the Cainamero Indians who were supposed to be loyal to Vallejo. Salvador Vallejo was away, Cayetano Juarez was ill, so an officer named Piña led the troops. His force was small, and his Indians turned traitors during the first skirmish. The campaign had to be abandoned, and no punishment was administered to the treaty breakers for some months.[21]

While Vallejo was thus occupied in Sonoma, much had transpired in southern California. Late in June, 1837, Alvarado with his army at Santa Barbara was about to come to grips with Captain Portilla and his army of the San Diego party, then at Mission San Fernando. Just at that point, Captain Andrés Castillero, who had been exiled with Governor Gutierrez, returned as commissioner from the Mexican Government to settle the civil war. In the negotiations that followed, Governor Alvarado and his followers took an oath of allegiance to Mexico which ended their revolution, and Portilla agreed to disband his forces, thus ending his political party.[22]

By this settlement Alvarado was left temporarily secure in his position as ad interim governor; but Vallejo no longer had any foundation for his office or authority. The post of commandant general now belonged to the senior officer in active service in the territory, by military regulations. This was Captain Pablo de la Portilla, the leader of the San Diego party. On July 13, 1837, soon after taking the oath, Alvarado wrote to Vallejo in regard to the military command, as Portilla had already asked the Governor about it. Alvarado, trying to be diplomatic about the matter, said:

"All is now settled except for the commandancy general, and I do not know whether it should fall to Don Pablo de la Portilla or to Don José de la Guerra y Noriega. I should lean by preference in favor of the latter, and you may give me your opinion in the matter."

Continuing, Alvarado suggested that they might do well to send Castillero as commissioner to Mexico, where his brother's influence might help them to save their jobs.[23]

A few days later, July 17, Alvarado again wrote to Vallejo:

> I have said nothing concerning the military command because I have not wished the question taken up by the legislature. Portilla and Zamorano desire the post, so it is time that you, acting in that capacity, should issue the necessary invitation to Noriega. He has turned into a friend against our enemies, and according to what he told me yesterday, he has no confidence in a single officer other than you. Your proclaiming of Noriega, who is on our side, without any reservations on your part, will leave Portilla and Zamorano fooled. . . .[24]

Vallejo did not take kindly to these suggestions that he should relinquish his office. He delayed his decision as long as he could. Meanwhile, Portilla waited and wrote to Alvarado to find out what was being done about the military command. Finally on August 1, 1837, Vallejo wrote directly to Portilla giving an account of how he had received the command. Now that the circumstances had altered, he proposed that all the officers should assemble at a conference in Monterey on August 30, 1837, where they would decide which officer was to become commandant general. If Portilla was unable to be present he was to notify him in writing, naming his choice for the post. To this proposal Portilla replied immediately that there was no need for a conference, because the military regulations were very explicit. The law stated that the command should be vested in the senior officer in the territory. In this case it was Captain Portilla.[25] The controversy ended at this point, because most of the officers refused to attend the conference, and Vallejo would not relinquish the office unless they assembled and voted, in the hope that they would select him. The meeting was not held, and Vallejo continued to serve as commandant general.

Meanwhile, on August 25, 1837, Captain Castillero sailed for Mexico as Alvarado's commissioner, to induce the Government to recognize Alvarado and Vallejo in their respective offices. When he arrived there, he found that the Mexican Government, on June 6, 1837, had appointed Don Carlos A. Carrillo as governor of California. Nevertheless he continued his efforts on behalf of Alvarado's party. In a report to the Government on conditions in California, he gave a character sketch of each of the leading Californians. Writing of Vallejo he said:

> Don Guadalupe Vallejo, lieutenant of the company of the northern Frontier, who was the commandant general of the revolutionists, is active, of stern mien, and maintains the troops in rigorous discipline; he is an enemy of popular government, and has his influence only in the northern part of California where he has always lived. A military decoration might be sufficient to keep him in favor of the Government.[26]

In Sonoma in August, Vallejo finding that the other officers did not want him as commander, threatened to resign, basing his action on the ground that he did not care to swear allegiance to the centralist constitution of Mexico. "Such oaths," said he, "have become bywords in the whole country." With his example before them, the San Francisco company, officers and men, refused to take the oath when ordered to do so by Alvarado. They protested to Vallejo that they had once sworn to die in defense of federalism, and asked to be discharged from the service rather than change their political faith. There the matter seems to have rested, but perhaps they were induced to take the oath before the end of the year.[27]

About October 20, 1837, the unexpected news reached Los Angeles that Don Carlos Carrillo had been appointed governor of California. Great was the consternation of Alvarado and Vallejo on receiving the report, for it placed them in a very uncomfortable position. At the end of October, Don

Carlos addressed friendly, modest letters to Vallejo and Alvarado, announcing his appointment and expressing his hope for the aid of his good friends, but making no formal demand for the transfer of the offices. On October 31, Governor Alvarado issued a proclamation making known the unofficial news received, stating that he would surrender the office to Carrillo as soon as he received official confirmation. Vallejo remained silent, but both were playing for time and hoping that Castillero might yet save the day for them in Mexico.[28]

November, 1837, passed. There was still no official news from Mexico, and no move was made on the part of either Vallejo or Alvarado to leave office. Don Carlos began to grow impatient and wax indignant at the long delay. But Vallejo at Sonoma and Alvarado at Santa Barbara maintained a discreet silence. Finally Don Carlos could wait no longer. On December 6, 1837, at 9:00 A. M., amidst a great celebration which lasted several days, surrounded by city officials and friends, he took the oath of office at Los Angeles. California now had two governors and one commandant general: a situation that could only result in civil war.

During December, Alvarado moved to Monterey, and Carrillo began to write threatening letters to him and to Vallejo, telling what he would do if they failed to give up their offices. On December 25, 1837, when all should have been peace and good will in California, there was nothing but discord and strife. On that day Vallejo wrote to Alvarado, assuring him that his policy of waiting for orders from Mexico was correct, advising him not to be frightened by braggadocio, and stating that were it not for the fact that the *California's* arrival was expected at an early date, he (Vallejo) would not hesitate to march his army south in Alvarado's support. These were brave words, but one may well doubt whether he would have made them good if he had been put to the test. To José Carrillo, brother of Don Carlos, he wrote that his boasting and threats at Santa Barbara had aroused not fear but indignation. He rebuked Don José for his action and advised prudence, saying that the southerners should wait until the *California* arrived with dispatches; then the commands would be legally and gladly surrendered. He adopted a milder tone in his letter to Don Carlos, appealing to his good sense and patriotism and begging him not to plunge the country into unnecessary civil war by ignoring the rights of Alvarado, who he had himself aided to put in power. Alvarado could not yield at the moment, neither could Don Carlos hope to succeed without northern support. Why not then assure himself of that support by showing a conciliatory spirit and consent to a slight delay, or to a conference.[29]

Vallejo's friendly efforts brought no peace, but instead they occasioned a torrent of words from the southerners, that had they been water would have inundated all of California to the mountain tops. During all of January, 1838, Vallejo busied himself at Sonoma with his personal affairs and

Indian troubles, while the political controversy between the Alvarado and Carrillo parties waxed hotter and hotter, and the rift between them grew wider and wider. By early March, the two factions were ready to come to blows, Alvarado holding the territory from Santa Barbara north, and Carrillo the country south of San Buenaventura, with a neutral strip some twenty miles wide between them. With the events of the civil war we have no concern, except as they affected Vallejo's movements, so we shall pass them by unnoticed.

During the middle of January, Alvarado submitted a plan to Vallejo, which Castro had evolved, for a sudden attack on Los Angeles and the capture of Don Carlos and twenty others, who would be sent to Sonoma as prisoners. Don Guadalupe at once disapproved of such a proposal. No doubt he considered that he would have to keep the prisoners at his own expense.[30]

Another matter which kept the General close to Sonoma during January and February, 1838, was the expectancy of the birth of another child. Finally on February 12, 1838, a baby girl was welcomed into the family. This was Natalia, the fifth child to gladden the hearts of her parents and numerous relatives.

While February passed peacefully at Sonoma, Vallejo was unworried by political activities in the south or serious Indian troubles on the frontier. Mission affairs, at this time under Pablo Ayala, were also running smoothly, and only the frequent, obnoxious letters from the Carrillos annoyed the Commandant General. Then in the midst of all this calm, late in March, came a flurry of excitement, when a request for aid arrived from Alvarado at Santa Clara. The Carrillos had sent Captain Juan Castañeda with about one hundred and fifty men to attack Santa Barbara. Alvarado rushed José Castro with fifteen soldiers to reinforce Villa's garrison there, and called on Vallejo for aid. The General sent Captain Salvador Vallejo with all available men to join the Governor, who was already on the way south to support Castro. On March 24, 1838, Vallejo sent orders to other northern commanders to prepare their troops for a campaign. Don Guadalupe, however, remained at Sonoma bewailing the fact that, though he was anxious to lead the campaign in person, an injury to his leg prevented him from going.[31]

Throughout March and April he nursed his leg and attended to his personal affairs in Sonoma, while the war raged in all its wordy fury in southern California. At the end of April, he received a dispatch from Alvarado at Las Flores, sent on April 23. The Governor reported that after three days of siege, Don Carlos had finally signed a treaty, and that: "Pending the arrangements stated in Art. 5, Lieutenant M. G. Vallejo will be recognized as Commandant General of Alta California."[32]

After the signing of the treaty, Alvarado returned to Santa Barbara and

sent his troops north. But no sooner was that done, than the Carrillos, aided by Pio Pico and Juan Bandini, began to plot to overthrow the Governor. He in turn decided to nip the conspiracy in the bud. He sent Captain Villa with twenty-five men to Los Angeles on May 20, to arrest the plotters. Two days later, Carlos and José Carrillo, Pio Pico, Gil Ibarra, Narciso Botello, Ignacio Palomares, José Maria Ramirez, Andrés Pico, Ignacio del Valle, and Roberto Pardo were at Santa Barbara as prisoners. Alvarado released Don Carlos Carrillo on parole, and Pio Pico was put in jail at Santa Barbara because he was ill, but the other eight were sent to Sonoma on May 22. They arrived on June 3, and until the end of September Vallejo had to entertain a group of unwelcome guests at his own expense.[33]

Toward the end of May, 1838, an epidemic of smallpox broke out among the Indians around Sonoma. It is said that the disease was brought from Fort Ross by Corporal Ignacio Miramontes. During May and June, Vallejo notified all authorities south of the Bay to take preventive measures. Thousands of the Indians of the northern frontier and a number of white people died from the plague during the following two years. Several of the political prisoners were also stricken, but recovered. Fortunately the disease did not spread south of the Bay.

Other troubles also faced Don Guadalupe during the spring and summer of 1838. Two of these were the practice of horse stealing and that of burning grain fields, indulged in by various Indian tribes in spite of the smallpox epidemic. Every year expeditions had to be sent out to punish the thieves and firebugs. In March, 1838, a party of allied Indians made an expedition against the Moquelumnes who had stolen horses and were noted for their grain burning. The Sonoma party recovered some of the horses, but that did not stop the practice. In August of that year, a party of fifty horse thieves from the Moquelumnes again crossed the Sacramento River and appeared at Vallejo's Soscol rancho with a band of tame horses. Their aim was to stampede the horses at Sonoma. Vallejo sent a party of soldiers and allied Indians to attack them. During the battle, thirty-five of the thieves were killed and the rest surrendered. The chief of the robbers, named Cumuchí, was tried at Sonoma for his crimes and executed.[34] In spite of the severest punishment, the tribes of the Sacramento Valley, who had a special liking for horse-meat, continued to steal horses throughout the last years of Mexican rule.

Vallejo was faced with still another problem: the Indian slave trade. During the summer of 1838, certain of the Indian tribes complained to the General that numbers of their children were being taken and sold south of the Bay. On investigation, it was found that Chief Solano was one of the traders. An example had to be made of Solano, but the question was whether that would cause a general uprising of the Indians. After much deliberation, Vallejo armed all the white men, an extra supply of powder was brought

from Fort Ross, and the barracks were stocked with food. When all preparations were completed, on October 6, Vallejo ordered Solano arrested and issued a printed circular stating his reasons. Solano was brought before a military court and accused of his crime and then locked in the guardhouse. Soon Sonoma was filled with sullen Indians demanding Solano's release. Vallejo stood firm and ordered his men to fire on any one who started trouble. He took Solano into his office and pointed out to him the enormity of his crime. Solano was soon convinced that he had done his people and Vallejo a great wrong, and was willing to make amends. He went before his tribesmen and confessed his guilt, then he disclosed the names of his confederates and the persons to whom the children were sold. Later, when all the children were restored to their homes, Solano was freed, and the guilty traders were punished.[35]

During this troublous summer of 1838, Vallejo found time to hold long interviews with his prisoners from the south, the results of which gave Governor Alvarado great concern. Vallejo gave ear to the persuasive and convincing eloquence of Don José A. Carrillo and came to believe in the genuineness of Don Carlos' appointment. In letters to Alvarado of August 10-11, 1838, he urged the Governor to recognize Don Carlos, or at least to hold a convention at Santa Clara, where such recognition might be discussed. Of his own failure and unwillingness to give up his command he said nothing. But he pointed out to Alvarado that sooner or later he would have to yield his office, since Carrillo's title was valid; and since there was no hope that sectional troubles would end, it was best to yield while they were at the full tide of success. This would be flattering to their pride, make a good impression in Mexico, and avoid dissensions in California. Another more practical advantage to be gained was that it would enable Alvarado and his followers to control public affairs for a time, since Don Carlos would establish his government in the north, and thus would remain in their power until the matter was finally settled.[36]

Don José Carrillo had promised also that the presidial companies would be reorganized. It was this that convinced the General. Alvarado, however, would not listen to such an ignominious surrender, especially since he had had very recent experience with the undependability of promises made by the Carrillos. He thereupon sent Vallejo a flat refusal, and chided him for his disaffection, which was doing the country much harm. Several days later, on August 13, the *Catalina* arrived in Monterey with letters from Castillero, stating that his mission had been successful and that Alvarado and his party had nothing to fear. There was now no further thought of giving up the offices to Carrillo before Castillero's return, and the Santa Clara convention was forgotten. On August 17, and 19, respectively, Vallejo and Alvarado issued announcements of the good news received from

Mexico.[37] Suddenly, on September 1, for some unknown reason, Vallejo issued a printed circular asking to be relieved of the military command, so that he might attend to his private affairs and those of the town of Sonoma. No attention was paid to his request. But a few days later the political prisoners were released, and on their way south they spread the report that Vallejo was in sympathy with the Carrillos. The General at once issued a denial, stating that his views had not changed, and that he would resign sooner than be false to his friends.[38]

Still another matter which had taken some of Vallejo's time was the question of the custom-house. In August, 1837, he had written to Alvarado concerning commercial reforms. He proposed a plan to exclude all foreign vessels from the coasting trade, and to transfer the custom-house from Monterey to San Francisco Bay. He argued that in that way California traders could own their own coasting vessels and stop smuggling, thus increasing the Government's revenues. He advocated the transfer of the custom-house because of the natural advantages of the northern harbor, the number of wealthy establishments adjacent to it, and because it would help to build up the northern frontier. Vallejo's views were sound, even though they were colored by his own interests in increasing the value of his Sonoma properties. But naturally the plan did not meet with favor at Monterey, and the Governor vetoed it. Vallejo brought up the matter during the following year, but since he received no encouragement, it was dropped.[39]

With the arrival of the news from Mexico that Castillero had been successful and was on the way back to California with important documents, the territory became peaceful once more. The Carrillos and other southerners ceased to conspire for the time being, while Alvarado and Vallejo sat down to wait for whatever the future might bring them.

Chapter VII

THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

The long expected arrival of the *California* with Commissioner Castillero aboard finally materialized. The schooner anchored at Santa Barbara on November 15, 1838. Captain Castillero, in ill health, landed and sent messages at once to Alvarado at Los Angeles and Vallejo at Sonoma, stating that he had documents confirming them in their positions, and requesting a personal conference at their earliest convenience.

The documents which most concerned Alvarado were a decree of amnesty for all political acts and opinions in the past and an order to Carrillo stating that the senior member of the Territorial Legislature (that is Alvarado) was to act as provisional governor. There were a number of documents which concerned Vallejo. The first was a commission as captain of the San Francisco presidial company. The second was the appointment of the new

captain as commandant general, in consideration for his distinguished services. Finally there were personal letters for both Alvarado and Vallejo from President Bustamante, in which he expressed his high esteem for them and confidence in their patriotism and ability to conduct the affairs of California in the future.[1] Don Andrés Castillero had indeed served his masters well. Disloyalty to the Mexican Government certainly had been highly rewarded. In the eyes of southern Californians it was the basest kind of ingratitude for the Government to reward rebels while loyal southerners received not even thanks.

As soon as Vallejo and Alvarado received their official confirmations they announced the good tidings to the people in printed proclamations. At the same time they wrote private letters to each other and to their friends congratulating themselves on the happy outcome of their revolution.[2] The remainder of the year passed quietly except that the Carrillos went to San Diego and there began to plot to get rid of Alvarado and Vallejo. When rumors of this reached the Governor, he sent Colonel Castro with twenty-five men post-haste southward to arrest the conspirators. Castro reached San Diego on Christmas Eve. The plotters were in the midst of their revels, making merry with wine and song at the home of Don Juan Bandini, on the east side of the old plaza. At midnight, the party was surprised to find Castro's men surrounding the place. Don José and Carlos Carrillo, Andrés and Pio Pico, Joaquin Ortega, and others were arrested, and the following day Castro set out for Santa Barbara, where he arrived in triumph about January 1, 1839.[3]

At the beginning of the year 1839, a great change came over Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Heretofore, although holding the office of commander-in-chief, for the previous two years, he had taken no active part in the campaigns of the revolution, and but a small part in the actual administration and exercise of the authority of his office. In character he was of a haughty, aristocratic disposition, and as a military officer he was reserved and a strict disciplinarian who was wont to assume a dictatorial attitude whenever the opportunity presented itself. Yet during the years from 1836 to 1838, he had been mild and unassuming. That perhaps may have been because he owed his appointment to his friends Alvarado and Castro and therefore did not wish to take any steps that might offend them or interfere with their actions. But now that he had a mandate from the Mexican Government as commander-in-chief of California's military forces and a commission as captain in the regular army, he was no longer beholden to his boyhood companions. Instantly his manner changed. He became the austere, dominating, dictatorial officer, who brooked no opposition and assumed full control of his office.

Don Guadalupe was just thirty and a half years old. And like many

young men who are suddenly elevated to positions of great responsibility and importance, the power and authority of office went to his head. Soon he became arbitrary, conceited, overbearing, and very unpopular; which did not enhance his reputation as an officer and a gentleman.

As 1839 opened, the Commandant General, armed with his new authority, condescended to leave the seat of his baronial holdings in the north and descended to Santa Barbara, there to assume his share of the post-revolution burdens of state. The first public business after his arrival was the exchange of congratulations with the Governor. The next matter to demand the General's attention was that of disposing of the San Diego revolutionists captured by Castro. When they arrived, Alvarado allowed Don Carlos Carrillo the freedom of the town under parole. The other prisoners, Don José Carrillo, the two Picos, Covarrubias, Joaquin Ortega, and others were turned over to Vallejo, that he might take whatever action he saw fit. The General felt that these conspirators should be made to confess their evil intentions. The prisoners, however, refused to incriminate themselves or to be intimidated, and the Commandant sat himself down to think. Soon a bright idea struck him. He would send all of them out to sea, and there a good dose of the terrors of seasickness might loosen their tongues, and true repentance might enter their souls. He gave orders to place the prisoners aboard vessels lying at anchor in the roadstead. The captains were instructed to cruise up and down the coast and to allow no communication between the prisoners or with persons on shore. José Antonio Carrillo was confined alone aboard the *Leonidas*; the others were placed in the care of Captain Robbins on the schooner *California*. After a sea trip which lasted four or five days, the prisoners on the *California*, not being good sailors, were ready to beg for mercy. They were landed and released on January 19. Don José, who had made several trips to Mexico by water, was not so easily cowed. When he was returned to land, he aroused Vallejo's wrath by publicly stating that his solitary confinement was due to fear that he would implicate the General himself in his plots against the Government. Having set off that blast, back to the ship's brig he went, to brood over his statements for many more days in solitude. Finally he was released.[4]

With the problem of the prisoners settled, the General began to feel the thrill of power. He turned his energies toward matters which did not coincide with his ideas of military discipline. At Sonoma, among the soldiers and Indians paid from his own pocket, Vallejo had been wont to put on the airs of a tyrant and to enforce the strictest discipline. At Santa Barbara conditions were different. Most of the army was composed of volunteer officers and men, who received little or no pay for their services. Governor Alvarado and Colonel Castro never had been soldiers. They knew little of military discipline and had not attempted to enforce what little they knew.

There was a spirit of intimacy between these leaders, their officers, and the men, in which they called each other by their first names. Captain Vallejo proposed to change all that. Alvarado had no objection to the experiment, but had doubts that it would succeed in an army whose members were not regularly paid. The new regulations were put into effect at once. Within a few days the guard-house was crowded with soldiers guilty of all kinds of infractions. With nearly every officer in the post under arrest, there was scarcely anyone left to carry out orders. One day an officer and a civilian in private conversation ventured to criticise the acts of the Commandant. Their remarks reached his ears. The officer was arrested and legal action was brought against the citizen. Even Colonel Castro was placed under arrest, because he had not arrested the others. When practically no one was left to carry on the military work, Vallejo ordered old Captain José de la Guerra, who had been retired for years, to take command of the post. Don José declined on the grounds of age and ill health. Thereupon, the arbitrary Don Guadalupe ordered the former officer under arrest, informing him that it was his duty simply to obey orders. Such highhanded procedure was ill-advised, to say the least, for De la Guerra had been the ranking officer in California before Vallejo was born, and had given most of his life to the service of the territory. At his age, to be treated thus by a conceited young officer, whom luck had suddenly thrust into a position of power, was the height of indignity. Don José's family appealed to Captain Castillero, who had literally gotten Vallejo his job, and asked him to see the General about releasing the old man. The Captain promptly undertook the mission, but the General snubbed him for his pains.

The climax of Vallejo's preposterous course was reached soon after.[5] Naturally such a situation could not continue. When everybody was under arrest, except the Governor and himself, Vallejo suddenly realized that he was making an ass of himself. He was forced to relent and set every one free. This event was signalized by a grand party held at Captain de la Guerra's house, where all shook hands, made peace, and received the General's capitulation. He had to admit that in an army of unpaid relatives and friends, rigid Spanish discipline could not be maintained.[6]

After failing in his attempt to bend every one to his will, the General turned his attention to restoring the old presidial companies to full strength. He believed that the country's permanent safety and prosperity depended on it. All the companies, except that of San Francisco which he kept at Sonoma at his expense, had ceased to exist by this time. Governor Alvarado was not enthusiastic about the scheme. He knew that he could barely get enough money to support the few men already under arms; nevertheless, he ordered the municipalities to help the General in his efforts to recruit men. Vallejo also wrote to the Minister of War urging his reorganization

plan and asking for money, arms, and chaplains, but only received authority to reorganize the companies and to retain the civil militia in the service. There was no immediate need of it, however, and since there was no money with which to pay the troops, the men were allowed to go home. Realizing that he could accomplish little else in Santa Barbara, Vallejo returned north early in March and established his headquarters at Sonoma.[7]

From there he continued to urge his military reorganization plan. Furthermore, he laid special emphasis on securing the northern frontier from foreign aggression. On May 10, 1839, he wrote several letters to the Minister of War, in which he described his past efforts and success in colonizing the region north of the Bay. In one of these he said that the San Francisco company was reduced to a third of its former strength, and that he paid most of its expenses out of his own pocket. In a second letter he told how he had founded the town in order to stop the advances of the Russians, English, and Americans who wished to possess themselves of the country, and that after many trials and the overcoming of innumerable obstacles, he had finally accomplished the task entrusted to him. Twenty-five families were already settled at Sonoma, he stated, and many more were about to come. He also told of his plan for new posts near those of the Russians, and for the establishment of a ranch three leagues from the Port of Bodega, adding: "I can assure Your Excellency that in a few years, if the Supreme Government extends its protecting hand over this precious part of the Department, the Russians and Americans will no longer have aims of possessing themselves of the frontier with impunity."

In closing he pointed out that the settlers suffered many privations, and that they all turned to him as the founder, to satisfy all their needs, which, as far as he was able, he had supplied out of his personal resources. It was because his means were being drained very rapidly that he was forced to appeal to the President for aid. He therefore begged the Minister to place the matter before the President, and also requested that vessels touching at Sonoma should be granted the privilege of trading duty free for ten years. This would give a new impulse to the town which, he had no doubt, soon would be the protector of all the Department.[8]

In a third letter he stressed the great obstacles he encountered in trying to reorganize the presidial companies, because of lack of officers and especially of captains. In order to put the companies in the best possible order, he recommended that Ensign Don Ignacio del Valle, of the Monterey Company, be made lieutenant of the Santa Barbara company. As first ensign of the Santa Barbara company he named Second Ensign Don Roberto Pardo of the same company, and as second ensign in the same, he promoted Sergeant José Lugo.

In a personal letter to President Bustamante of May 10, he told of his

efforts to reorganize the companies. He pointed out that San Francisco Bay and the northern frontier were of utmost importance to the nation. It was absolutely necessary to omit no measures to protect them. Since all the foreign nations had designs on them, he was establishing posts close to Fort Ross, a Russian post, with whose Governor he was on the best of terms. He had the savages well in hand, but it was necessary to be distrustful of them and to have a respectable force ready at all times to inspire them with fear.

The military reorganization was prevented largely because the General found it difficult to obtain recruits for the regular companies. A few men enlisted, but they were of a vagabond class whom the municipal authorities were glad to get rid of and whom Vallejo did not want as soldiers. Furthermore, difficulties between the Governor and the General began when the former discharged militia officers without the Commandant's consent, and also interfered in other military matters. The chief bone of contention, however, was the matter of finances. There was a quarrel over the distribution of revenues, for the army believed it was not getting its share. Moreover, in the opinion of its officers, each company believed it was being defrauded. Finally, the people in the south and at Sonoma accused the politicians at Monterey of spending the public monies almost exclusively for the benefit of local interests and personal friends.[9]

Rumors had been started by Vallejo's enemies that he was misappropriating army funds. In an effort to refute these accusations, he wrote to Captain José de la Guerra at Santa Barbara on May 25, 1839, giving a detailed report of the use he had made of 10,000 pesos which he had received as the army's share of customs duties: The San Francisco company with 60 men had received 2,000 pesos; Monterey, with 30 men, 1,500 pesos; Santa Barbara, with only 15 men, 1,000 pesos, and San Diego, 500 pesos. The staff and unattached officers had been paid 1,000 pesos; 1,300 pesos had gone for war material; a medicine chest had cost 250 pesos; the Santa Barbara artillery had been given 200 pesos; while the Captain of the Port and other officers at San Francisco had received 350 pesos. To Ensign Ignacio del Valle he had paid 100 pesos. The remaining 1,800 pesos had been used in small sums for the relief of retired soldiers.[10]

Amidst all the trouble and worry about accusations and plots, one cheerful note entered Vallejo's life during the summer of 1839. The almost yearly event was about to take place. The General was anxiously hoping that it would be a boy. The last three children had been girls and it was only right that the one to come should be a boy. He now gave himself up to the task of choosing a name, should the baby be a man child. Back to his ancient history he went and, after much thoughtful consideration, again decided on a classical name. June 10, 1839, dawned, and with it came the birth of the much-wished-for boy. Don Guadalupe gave his new son the name of Plutarco,

after the great Greek philosopher, scholar, and writer. The General was very fond of classical names and bestowed them on his sons, no doubt with the hope that they might thus be endowed with the same attributes of mind and character as the great men whose names they bore.

During this summer rumors spread throughout the north that plots were brewing in the south, and that a hostile expedition was approaching from Sonora. Much alarm was felt or feigned at Monterey, and Alvarado as well as others wrote to Vallejo asking him to send troops to quell the revolts and repel the invasion. Don Guadalupe did not seem to share in the alarm and refused to furnish the Governor with troops, until he had definite information. He wrote that his troops would always be ready to support the law but not its abuse. Naturally, this refusal did not strengthen the friendship between the Governor and the General.[11]

On September 15, 1839, while the controversy was still raging, the schooner *California* arrived at Santa Barbara from Mexico. During the spring it had taken Captain Castillero to Mexico as the newly elected congressman from California. No sooner had he arrived at the capital, than he became active on behalf of his two friends, Alvarado and Vallejo. When the vessel returned it brought dispatches dated August 6 and 7, containing good news for the California leaders. For Alvarado it brought the announcement of his appointment as proprietary governor. To Don Guadalupe it brought a promotion from the rank of captain to that of colonel of the defenders of the Fatherland. The Minister of War wrote approving all of Vallejo's measures on the frontier, and the military reorganization, and sent commissions for several officers, promising additional aid in the future, which, however, never arrived. From President Bustamante, the General received a personal letter congratulating him on his efforts and thanking him for his services. All of these documents were duly announced to the public several days later.[12]

While these political events were taking place in 1839, mission and pueblo affairs at Sonoma were still causing trouble. Since the summer of 1837, when Ortega was removed as administrator of the Mission, Pablo Ayala had held this post. Then on May 7, 1839, Alvarado appointed Salvador Vallejo as administrator of Mission Sonoma. But for some unknown reason he was not placed in possession of the properties, and he was still unable to assume the office in September. When William Hartnell, the mission inspector, arrived at Sonoma on his first tour, Don Salvador presented his case and then resigned his office. General Vallejo was consulted, but he seemed to be opposed to letting Salvador take charge of the Mission. Because all the property had been distributed to the Indians, he wanted Hartnell to take possession and administer what was left of the Mission. Hartnell, however, refused to do so when he saw the condition of the estate and the muddle in

which he found the accounts. Ayala was left to manage the little that was left of the Mission under Vallejo's direction.[13]

In so far as the town and post of Sonoma were concerned, Salvador Vallejo was commander of the troops throughout the year 1839. Ensign Prado Mesa and Ensign Lázaro Piña acted as commanders in his absence. Don Salvador was also captain of the infantry company organized the year before. This organization was composed of twenty-five selected Indians, who had been given Spanish names. They were armed with muskets, and their pay amounted to 4,400 pesos a year. The cavalry company was recruited to the strength of forty men during 1839. At that time both Colonel and Captain Vallejo wrote to Mexico urging that it was necessary to increase the company. They also complained that the authorities at Monterey neglected to supply the necessary money. According to the General, his armament at Sonoma consisted of ten guns, nine of them of brass ranging in caliber from 2½- to 8-pounders and that six of these, with all their appurtenances, had been bought by him from his own income.[14]

During January, 1839, Salvador Vallejo was appointed justice of the peace at Sonoma, but did not take the oath of office until May. Meanwhile during February and March the townspeople refused to vote at an election, on the plea that they were subject only to military authority. At this time Don Salvador was serving also as alcalde. Then in June his brother ordered him not to serve as justice, even though he already had taken the oath. Don Guadalupe claimed that Governor Alvarado had no power to appoint a military officer to a civil position. Of course Vallejo was not consistent, but this was only another manifestation of the quarrel then beginning between the General and the Governor.[15]

Another matter that took the General's attention during the year 1838-39, was a project of founding a new line of four or five frontier missions to the east and north of Sonoma. The first one which he particularly wanted to found was to be at Santa Rosa. Vallejo wrote to the Zacatecan friars who were in charge of the nine northern missions asking them to undertake the task. On March 19, 1839, Father Quijas replied, stating that he would be willing to undertake the founding of a mission at Santa Rosa if Father Prefect Gonzalez would consent. It seems strange that a man who was such an outspoken opponent of the missionaries, their methods, and institutions should have appealed to them for aid in such an undertaking. But no doubt by that time Don Guadalupe realized that it was the most effective and cheapest method of civilizing the savage Indians. He had tried to do it by means of fire and sword for five years, to a great extent at his own expense, and found the cost too great. Father Quijas, though he had very little love for Vallejo, nevertheless was willing to lay aside all personal differences and once more enter the wilderness in search of a harvest of pagan souls. Un-

fortunately, by this time there were not enough missionaries left to care for the existing missions and towns, and none could be had in Mexico, so Father Gonzalez had to withhold his consent for the undertaking. Seeing that he could get no action from that quarter, Vallejo on May 14, 1839, appealed to Governor Alvarado for aid in carrying on the project. He urged upon the Governor the importance of a mission at Santa Rosa, as a means of civilizing the northern Indians and opening the upper Russian River Valley and Clear Lake country to settlers at small expense. The Governor, who was not very warm in support of any measure that Vallejo might suggest, turned a deaf ear to his appeals. Thus a splendid opportunity to carry on the extension of civilizing influences to the northern savages was lost in the confusion of opposing interests which followed the outbreak of the quarrel between the two Californian leaders. Years later in his history, Vallejo wrote a general account about a project to found a line of missions in the San Joaquin Valley. But to what extent it had aroused official interest does not appear.[16]

For the remainder of the year General Vallejo was at Sonoma engaged in the affairs and controversies which will be taken up in later chapters. Don Salvador continued to serve as commander of the post, and from November, 1839, for several subsequent months was engaged in campaigns against horse thieves and marauding bands of savages. It was during the latter half of 1839 that Sonoma was visited by Johann August Sutter, who was later to play so large a part in the development of the northern frontier. But the question of greatest moment for Vallejo for the next two years was his quarrel with Alvarado.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. M. G. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 161-63.

2. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 262. A full translation of this letter is found in Cal. Hist. Soc., *Quarterly*, XV, No. 4, Dec., 1936, 341-42.

3. Cal. Legis., proclamation to people, Monterey, Nov. 7, 1836, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XXXII, 41. A full translation is given in H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 470-71.

4. M. G. Vallejo, proclamation, Monterey, Nov. 29, 1836; the full text is translated in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

5. J. Castro, *Decreto de la Diputacion*, No. 2, Monterey, Nov. 29, 1836, in *Legajo* 52-6-9-2, MS, *Arch. Gen. de Guerra y Marina*, Mexico. The commission is found in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 11.

6. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 474-77.

7. Solano the Second was Chief Solano's younger brother. Both had been christened Francisco Solano upon their conversion to Christianity, and the younger had been given the designation of II. The latter was also a chief of the Suisuns and commanded the tribe whenever his brother was absent, and often went with Salvador Vallejo on his campaigns, in command of the Indian allies. In this instance, Chief Solano was absent on another matter, so Vallejo sent the orders to Solano II.

8. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 226-38.

9. See "A Census of California Spanish Imprints, 1833-1845," by George L. Harding,

in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, XII, 133 (also reprinted in pamphlet form). The proclamations by M. G. Vallejo in the Templeton Crocker Collection, California Historical Society, printed on this press, are dated January 7, 1837; January 24, 1837; February 20, 1837; July 20, 1833 [1837]; September 1, 1838; and June 10, 1839.

10. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 125, 133; *ibid.*, IV, 99; Bancroft, *op cit.*, pp. 720-23.

11. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 270-78.

12. *Ibid.*, 243-45; *ibid.*, IV, 52, 55, 57.

13. *Ibid.*, IV. 56-57, 216, 341, 17, 59, 65, 64, 75, 86, 40, 208, 212, 81, 84, are only some of the documents dealing with Vallejo's actions between January and March. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 670.

14. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, IV, 85-89, 92-93, 234, are letters and orders from Vallejo dealing with the affair.

15. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, June 1, Santa Clara, June 6; Vallejo to Alvarado, Sonoma, June 7, 8, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 242, 243, 102, 246-47.

16. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 282-85; M. G. Vallejo to military commanders, Sonoma, June 25, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 251, 254-56.

17. *Ibid.*, IV, 266, 264-65, 272, 268, 273, 275, 274, 279, 278, 259, 292, 304, 307, all are letters dealing with the subject.

18. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 292-97.

19. *Ibid.*, 299-304.

20. The treaty provided that the truce should last one year, during which time Vallejo was to deliver eight steers and two cows weekly to Chief Succara; Succara was to furnish two bears large enough to fight bulls, every new moon; Succara was to give his brother and two sons as hostages, who, during good behavior, were to be "treated like Russian officers"; Succara agreed to surrender fugitive Indians of his tribe who committed theft or murder; not more than thirty Satiyomi warriors were to come to Sonoma at a time, but as many as a hundred of their wives might come, provided they carried no concealed weapons; Vallejo was to send no armed expedition into the Satiyomi country without permission from their leaders; the Satiyomis promised to deliver all captive children of the neighboring tribes taken during the past three years; Vallejo was to give Succara a saddle horse with harness; and Chief Succara and General Vallejo pledged mutual responsibility for damages inflicted by their followers upon the other contracting party. *Ibid.*, 299-304.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Full details of this controversy and its settlement are given in "Captain Andres Castillero, Diplomat," by George Tays, in Cal. Hist. Soc., *Quarterly*, XIV, No. 3, Sept., 1935, 230-66.

23. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, July 12, 1837, *ibid.*, 247-48.

24. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Santa Barbara, July 17, 1837, *ibid.*, 248.

25. M. G. Vallejo to P. Portilla, Sonoma, Aug. 1, 1837, *ibid.*, 250-51.

26. A. Castillero, report to Mex. Gov., Mexico, Oct. 21, 1837, *ibid.*, 255.

27. J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 181-83; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 294, 305.

28. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 535-37.

29. M. G. Vallejo, to J. B. Alvarado, J. Carrillo and C. Carrillo, Sonoma, Dec. 26, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 368, 367, 365.

30. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Monterey, Jan. 19, 1838, *ibid.*, V, 22.

31. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, San Juan, March 18, 1838; also M. G. Vallejo to Lts. Sanchez and Martinez, Capt. Vallejo, Sonoma, Mar. 24, 1838, *ibid.*, V, 47, 53-54, 55-58, 60, 62.

32. J. B. Alvarado to M. G. Vallejo, Las Flores, April 23, 1838, in *ibid.*, V, 77; also *Tratado de las Flores entre Alvarado y Carrillo*, 23 de Abril, 1838, MS, translated in Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, III, 562.

33. Full details of the civil war are to be found in Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 478-578; also George Tays, Revolutionary California, MS, 648-745.

34. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 21, 65, 124.

35. Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 329-38; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 194; *ibid.*, XXXII, 156; Dept. St. Pap., Los Angeles, MS, X, 23, all give accounts of the affair.

36. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, confidential letters, Sonoma, Aug. 10, 11, 1838, MS, Bancroft Library; J. B. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 76-79.

37. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 137, 144, 145, 147, 97, 177.

38. M. G. Vallejo, announcement of resignation, Sonoma, Sept. 1, 1838, Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 258. Also M. G. Vallejo, proclamation, Sonoma, Sept., 1838, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 287; *ibid.*, V, 213, 260, 229.

39. M. G. Vallejo, circular, Sonoma, Aug. 17, 1837, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, XXXII, 108; Dept. St. Pap. San Jose, MS, V, 107-18; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 342-57, give a discussion of the question.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. A. Castillero to M. G. Vallejo and J. B. Alvarado, Santa Barbara, Nov. 17, 1838, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 251; *ibid.*, XXXII, 168; *ibid.*, V, 110, 225, 268; *ibid.*, MS, I, 12, 13; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 126, 127; *ibid.*, XI, 109, 110; St. Pap. Miss. and Colon., II, 287; Leg. Rec., MS, III, 92; Mont. Arch., MS, II, 13; are some of the documents bearing on the subject.

2. M. G. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 245-46, 248, 251, 258, 263-65, 268; Dept. St. Pap. Los Angeles, MS, X, 21-23; Los Angeles Arch., MS, V, 28-29.

3. Vallejo, *op. cit.*, V, 278; J. M. Estudillo, *Datos de Calif.*, MS, 24-26; Pio Pico, *Historia de California*, MS, 71-76.

4. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 1, 2; *ibid.*, VI, 13-15, 160; St. Pap. Miss. and Colon., MS, II, 389; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 392-400; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 50-54, 117-19; Pico, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, 71-76; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 244.

5. Vallejo (in his *Hist. Cal.*, III, 392-418) himself gives an account of a visit from Father President Narciso Durán, who had come to plead for Captain José de la Guerra, during which Vallejo exhibited much lack of courtesy and consideration toward the elderly Prelate, whom he heartily disliked.

6. Vallejo, *ibid.*; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, III, 59; *ibid.*, IV, 116-19; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VI, 174-79.

7. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, V, 3; *ibid.*, VI, 33, 165, 175, 183, 217-24, 228, 269, 334-35, 437, 465, 487; *ibid.*, 10, 15; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 242; San Diego Arch., MS, pp. 219, 221; all deal with the subject.

8. M. G. Vallejo to Min. of War, Sonoma, May 10, 1839, in Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VII, 26-29, 37.

9. M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, May 10, 19, 1839, in *ibid.*, VII, 43, 117, 138, 156, 167, 185, 316; *ibid.*, VIII, 274, 318.

10. M. G. Vallejo to J. de la Guerra, Sonoma, May 25, 1839, in *ibid.*, VII, 70, 140, 144, 146-47, 310, 313-14, 358, 388, 406; *ibid.*, VIII, 17, 22, 69-70, 86, 133, 137, 233, 252.

11. Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 140-44; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VII, 310, 321; *ibid.*, VIII, 58, 67, 76, 88.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 14-15; *ibid.*, VIII, 11, 149; Dept. St. Pap. Los Angeles, MS, XI, 12-13; Dept. St. Pap., Monterey, MS, IV, 16-17; Savage, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 308, 310, 312, 314-15; *ibid.*, VIII, 157, 165.

13. Dept. Rec., MS, X, 10; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VII, 16; *ibid.*, VIII, 85, 89; Pio Pico, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, II, 9; W. E. P. Hartnell, Diary, MS, pp. 93-98.

14. Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VI, 218, 344-46; *ibid.*, VII, 26-28, 37; *ibid.*, VIII, 86; *ibid.*, XXV, 63; Soberanes, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, pp. 158-65.

15. Monterey Arch., MS, IX, 10; Dept. St. Pap., MS, XVII, 57; *ibid.*, Benicia, *Prefectures y Juzgados*, MS, III, 26-29; *ibid.*, Monterey, MS, IV, 96; Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, I, 398.

16. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, IV, 48; Fernandez, *Cosas de Cal.*, MS, pp. 88-90; Fr. Quijas to M. G. Vallejo, San Rafael, Mar. 19, 1839, Vallejo, *Doc. Hist. Cal.*, MS, VI, 325; M. G. Vallejo to J. B. Alvarado, Sonoma, May 14, 1839, *ibid.*, VI, 65; Dept. St. Pap., MS, IV, 255; Vallejo, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 62-70; Alvarado, *Hist. Cal.*, MS, IV, 151-53.

SOME BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES CONCERNING JERONIMO DE RIPALDA'S *CATECISMO*

By Henry R. Wagner

Those interested in the history of the old California press in Monterey have noticed in Bancroft's *History of California*[1] and in his *Essays and Miscellany*[2] the item, *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana,* by Ripalda, Monterey, 1842. In the *Essays and Miscellany* the size is given as 12mo, 8 pages. Both Mr. Robert E. Cowan, in his *Bibliography of the Spanish Press,* and Mr. George L. Harding in his *Census of California Spanish Imprints* listed the title as given by Bancroft, although Mr. Harding considered it extremely doubtful that any such piece was printed in the year 1842.[3]

If Bancroft had an eight-page *Catecismo* in his possession he did not transfer it to the University of California; at least, there is none in the library at the present time nor is there any record of its ever having been received. What does exist in the library, however, is a *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana* without title, and paged from 3 to 89 inclusive; and also a second but more imperfect copy of this *Catecismo.*

On inquiry, I found that the library possessed a *Catecismo* of Ripalda printed in Puebla, Mexico, in 1784. A comparison of the text of the two books proved at once that the *Catecismo* without title in the library was in reality Ripalda's, although it was not a reprint of the Mexican 1784 edition. Is it possible then that the eight pages which Bancroft mentions was an error for eighty-nine? Certainly, Ripalda's *Catecismo* could never have been printed in eight pages.

Jerónimo de Ripalda was born in Teruel, Aragon, in 1536, and died in Toledo in 1618. According to Father Vicente de P. Andrade, Ripalda entered the Jesuit order in 1551, and at one time he was confessor of Santa Teresa.[4]

Until Cristóbal Pérez Pastor in his *Bibliografía Madrileña,* Madrid, 1891, entered (under No. 680) a supposititious title, *Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana,* Madrid, Luis Sanchez, 1600,[5] the earliest edition known was one printed in Zaragoza in 1616. In 1909, however, Juan M. Sánchez reproduced an edition printed in Burgos in 1591 which he believed to be the first issue. He remarked on Pérez Pastor's entry of a supposed edition of 1600, which he conceded to be probable, and admitted that there might have been others earlier.

Ripalda's *Catecismo* is the most famous one that has ever been pub-

lished. According to Backer-Sommervogel, 25 editions are known of the Eighteenth Century and 26 of the Nineteenth Century. Sanchez cites 471 down to 1900 and I know of several others. Father Andrade, in the *Noticias de Mexico* of Francisco Sedano, stated that in addition to numerous editions in Spanish, Ripalda's *Catecismo* had been translated into forty-five different languages, and he omitted two that are known today. The book was translated into Zapoteca by Francisco Pacheco y Silva and printed in Mexico in 1687; again in Puebla in 1689, and in Mexico in 1776. It was also translated into Mixteca, of which editions appeared in Puebla in 1719 and 1775. The first edition in Mexican, arranged by Paredes, was published in Mexico in 1758. So far as known, the first Spanish edition printed in Mexico was that by Maria de Rivera in 1749. In 1770 it also appeared with a license of 1768 to Joseph de Xauregui. On July 16, 1783, Pedro de la Rosa, a Puebla printer, obtained an exclusive license from the Viceroy to print this *Catecismo* and some other spiritual works. The *Catecismo* appeared in 1784 with the title *Catecismo y exposicion breve de la Doctrina Cristiana*.[6] Rosa kept putting out new editions, of which I have records of one in 1794, others in 1806, 1808, and one as late as 1828. The book was frequently reprinted thereafter in Puebla by Rosa, and in Mexico City by other printers; Murguia, for instance, reprinted it in 1859 and 1864.

I have been unable to locate in California any of the editions of Ripalda's *Catecismo* that were printed in Puebla or Mexico before 1842 except the first of 1784. A comparison of the one in the Bancroft Library with the original edition of 1784 shows that, although copied from this almost word for word, some short passages were omitted and one significant addition was made. The original edition contains a section giving the method of assisting at the mass. The Bancroft copy contains an addition to this, "*Modo de ayudar a la Misa de los padres dominicos.*" Since in 1842 or 1843 there were no Dominicans in Alta California, there would be no reason for inserting this particular clause in a work printed here. It seems likely, therefore, that some edition later than 1784 which contained this clause was used as copy.[7]

The Bancroft *Catecismo* measures 6½ x 11 cms., the same size as the *Definicion de las principales operaciones de arismética* in the University of California Library, and which was printed in Monterey in 1843, according to Mr. Harding, by Henri Cambuston.[8] Both pieces were originally in the possession of the Castro family, and there is every reason to believe that the imperfect *Catecismo* was printed by the same man who printed the *Arismética*. As the book stands today without a title-page there is little about it from which Bancroft could have deduced any precise date of publication. I am inclined to believe, however, that the imperfect copy in the Bancroft Library had a title-page when it first came into Bancroft's pos-

session, but that this was lost either while in his library or in the process of transfer to the University of California. It also appears probable that the date, 1842, is the correct one and that it was actually printed toward the close of that year.[9]

NOTES

1. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, "Authorities Quoted," in his *History of California,* I, lxxiii.

2. Bancroft, *Essays and Miscellany,* p. 595.

3. Harding, George L., *A Census of California Spanish Imprints,* pp. 11, 17. (Reprinted from California Historical Society *Quarterly,* Vol. XII, No. 2, June, 1933.)

4. In a note to the *Noticia de Mexico* of Francisco Sedano.

5. In support of this Pérez Pastor quotes the book of the guild of printers of Madrid for the years 1599 and 1600, in which the receipt was acknowledged of a certain sum of money in lieu of two *Catecismos,* each of which contained five quires. Of course this is not positive proof that the *Catecismo* was Ripalda's, but in the opinion of Pérez Pastor this was probable because in later years a similar entry appeared in the books of the guild, and it is known that there were various issues of Ripalda's *Catecismo* from that time on.

6. This is a well-printed quarto edition, with a plate for a frontispiece, a title, with the verso blank, 13 unnumbered leaves of preliminaries and 188 pages.

7. In the Sutro Library, in San Francisco, I found an edition printed by Murguia in Mexico in 1864 which also contains this clause, so it was evidently not unusual.

8. Harding, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

9. In the Census of 1836, registered as living in the house of Agustin V. Zamorano in Monterey, was one José María de la Rosa, thirty-four years old, a native of Puebla, and a printer. Rosa had come to California in 1834 and afterward became a well-known character in the country, living to a very advanced age. It may be mere coincidence, but the fact that his name was Rosa like that of the famous Puebla printer, and that he was a native of that place and also a printer, leads us to suspect that he was a relative of the other Rosa; hardly a son, but possibly a grandson. He may have brought a copy of the *Catecismo* with him from Puebla, with the intention of reprinting it in California. In a suit involving land in later years in which he appeared as a witness he asserted that he was the first printer in California. Mr. Harding has demonstrated that Zamorano had two printers working for him at different times, and Rosa may have been one of them, although Mr. Harding did not think so. If I recollect correctly, Rosa also claimed that he had been printing in 1842 or 1843, although there is much evidence to show that Henri Cambuston was actually operating the Monterey press in 1843. In any case the printing done in that year was far inferior to what had been done in 1836, and the same man could hardly have done work of such different character. Any connection therefore which Rosa might have had with reprinting the *Catecismo* seems somewhat vague.

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

ANDERSON, CHARLES ROBERTS [ed.]
Journal of a cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the frigate *United States*, with notes on Herman Melville. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1937. ix+143 pp. (incl. index), ills.

BIDWELL, JOHN
A journey to California with observations about the country, climate and the route to this country. A day-by-day record of the journey from May 18, 1841, to November 6, 1841. With an introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley. San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1937. ix+41 pp.

BRYANT, EDWIN
What I saw in California, being the journal of a tour by the emigrant route and South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, across the Continent of North America, the Great Desert Basin, and through California, in the years 1846, 1847. Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1936. xxiv+481 pp. [Notes, index and bibliography by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur; frontispiece and drawings by Dorothy Smith Sides; layout and design by Thomas E. Williams. Vol. I of Calafía Series.]

CAHN, FRANCES, AND BARY, VALESKA
Welfare activities of federal, state, and local governments in California, 1850-1934. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936. xxiv+422 pp. (incl. index).

CARROLL, LUKE M.
Holy Cross parish and Lone Mountain district of San Francisco. Published in honor of Golden Jubilee, October, 1937. 64 pp., ills. [Includes reproduction of map of San Francisco, 1855, showing road from Mission Dolores to Presidio.]

CHEVIGNY, HECTOR
Lost empire. The life and adventures of Nikolai Petrovich Rezánov. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937. Port., [ix]+356 pp. (incl. index and bibliography).

CLARK, ANN HART
Clark's Point. A narrative of the conquest of California and of the beginning of San Francisco. San Francisco: The Pioneer Press, 1937. [vi]+56+9+76+[iv] pp. (incl. index), ills. [Included in the above as Part II, and also issued separately:]
—Lone Mountain the most revered of San Francisco's hills. Annals of the pioneers copied from headstones and other old records. San Francisco: The Pioneer Press, 1937.

[Mrs. Hart's contribution to the story of San Francisco covers two phases of the city's history about which little has been written. The question of the first wharf is gone into at length and with great thoroughness, and the author's handling of Laurel Hill Cemetery is equally exhaustive. The book is in the nature of an In Memoriam to her father, William S. Clark, for whom Clark's Point (where Clark built the wharf) was named.]

CLARK, DAN ELBERT
The West in American history. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company [1937]. [xi]+682 pp. (incl. index), maps.

CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS
The history of Occidental College, 1887-1937. Los Angeles, 1937. xii+115 pp., ills.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines, and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.

Cook, Sherburne F.
Sarría's treatise on the Cesarean Operation, 1830. In *California and Western Medicine*, August, September and October, 1937.

Cross, William T., and Cross, Dorothy E.
Newcomers and nomads in California. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1937. ix+149 pp., (incl. index), ills.

Cunningham, John J., S. J.
Reminiscences of a Native Son. In *Saint Ignatius Church Calendar*, September, 1937. [Father Cunningham was the first native born San Franciscan to become a Jesuit priest. The manuscript was unfinished before his death.]

[Farafontoff, A. P., ed.]
Fort Ross, advanced military post which in the past was the glory of Russia in America, 125 year jubilee, 1812-1937. [In Russian.]

Ferrier, William Warren
Ninety years of education in California, 1846-1936. A presentation of educational movements and their outcome in education today. Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Shop [1937]. [xvi]+413 pp. (incl. index).

Grinnell, Joseph; Dixon, Joseph S.; and Linsdale, Jean M.
Fur-bearing mammals of California, their natural history, systematic status, and relation to man. Contributions from the Museum of Vertebrate Zoölogy, University of California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937. 2 vols.

Hanna, Phil Townsend
California under twelve flags. Los Angeles: Automobile Club of Southern California, c. 1937. [25] pp., ills.

Hoover, Mildred Brooke
Historic spots in California: counties of the Coast Range. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press [1937]. xxiii+718 pp. (incl. index). [Third and last of the series on historic spots sponsored by the California State Conference of the National Society of Daughters of the American Revolution.]

Hussey, John Adam
Discovery of the Tuolumne Grove of Big Trees, in *Yosemite Nature Notes*, Vol. XVI, No. 8, August, 1937.

Kelly, Charles, and Howe, Maurice L.
Miles Goodyear, first citizen of Utah, trapper, trader and California pioneer. Salt Lake City: Privately printed by Western Printing Company, 1937. Port., 152 pp.+vii of bibliography, index and acknowledgments.

Lyman, George Dunlap
Ralston's ring. California plunders the Comstock Lode. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. xii+368 pp., ills.

[Dr. Lyman's *Ralston's Ring* is a dramatic account of the fabulous Washoe mines and a fitting sequel to his *Saga of the Comstock Lode*. Born in Virginia City, the author has made his birthplace live again for a generation which knows little about the great Nevada mining camp save legendary rumor. The picture he draws of William C. Ralston and his activities, including the creation of the Bank of California, reads like fiction and yet it is based on positive fact. Some of the schemes in which Ralston was involved, notably the "Great Diamond Hoax," are incredible, but historic. The best book written on the Comstock since Dan de Quille's *Big Bonanza*.]

McKenney, J. Wilson
"Bold Emory" [Lt. William H. Emory] in the *Desert Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 1, November, 1937.

NEWCOMB, REXFORD R.
Spanish-Colonial architecture in the United States. New York: J. J. Augustin [1937]. 130 pp. [Chap. VII is "Spanish Colonial Architecture in California."]

PETERSON, MARTIN SEVERIN
Joaquin Miller, literary frontiersman. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press [1937]. Port., ix+198 pp. (incl. index and bibliography).

REID, JOHN C.
Original narratives of Texas history and adventure. Reid's tramp, or a journal of the incidents of ten months' travel through Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, and California, including topography, climate, soil, minerals, metals, and inhabitants; with a notice of the great inter-oceanic rail road. Selma, Alabama: Printed at the book and job office of John Hardy & Co., 1850. A reprint from the original. Austin, Texas: The Steck Company, 1935. 245 pp.

STEWARD, JULIAN H.
Petroglyphs of the United States. In *Annual Report*, Smithsonian Institution, for the year ended June 30, 1936. Washington: 1937.

STEWART, GEORGE R.
The veritable Squibob, a life of Captain George H. Derby, U. S. A. New York: Henry Holt and Company [1937]. xiv+242 pp. (incl. index), ills.

TREANOR, THOMAS C.
John Treanor, a sketch of his life with excerpts from his letters. Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1937. Port., 85 pp.

VESTAL, STANLEY
Mountain men. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. [Includes Jim Bridger, Hugh Glass, Jedediah Smith, Old Bill Williams, and other well-known trappers of the period between 1822 and 1852.]

WAGNER, HENRY R.
The cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the year 1800. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937. 2 vols.

—The Plains and the Rockies, a bibliography of original narratives of travel and adventure, 1800-1865, revised and extended by Charles L. Camp. San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1937. viii+300 pp. (incl. index), 24 ills. (photostats of title pages).

—The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794, an annotated bibliography. Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1937. 2 vols. (incl. index), ills.

WILBUR, MARGUERITE EYER [trans. and ed.]
Duflot de Mofras' Travels on the Pacific Coast. Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press [1937]. 2 vols. [No. 2 of the Calafia Series. A translation of Eugene Duflot de Mofras' *Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Californies, et de la Mer Vermeille*, first published in 1844 in Paris.]

WILTSEE, ERNEST A.
The Joseph W. Gregory Express, 1850-1853. American Philatelist Handbook Series No. 1. Reproduced from the *American Philatelist*, November, 1936-March, 1937. 29 pp., ills.

GRIZZLY BEAR
July, 1937, contains: "San Francisco Native Son [Thomas Blaise Evans] of 1847 Passes," by Emmett P. Joy; "Don Luis Arguello, First Native Governor of California," by Peter T. Conmy; "Romualdo Pacheco," by Irma W. Laird; "Sutter's Fort Restored," by Jack Johanson; "California Fifty Years Ago," by Thomas W. McAuliffe. October, 1937, contains "The Origin of the California Public School System," by Peter T. Conmy; "California Fifty Years Ago," by Thomas W. McAuliffe.

Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly

June, 1937, contains: "An Adopted Californian, the Life and Letters of William Goodwin Dana"; "Los Angeles Imprints, 1851-1876," a check-list compiled by Willard O. Waters.

Morning Union [Grass Valley and Nevada City]

"Observations and Experiences," a weekly column by Edmund G. Kinyon, frequently contains historical material.

Oregon Historical Quarterly

June, 1937, contains: "From the Missouri to the Columbia, 1841," by H. E. Tobie; "Wreck of a Japanese Junk, 1834," list of references compiled by Grace P. Morris; "Letters of Charles Stevens," Part V, edited by E. Ruth Rockwood; "The Coming of the White Women, 1836," Part V, by T. C. Elliott. September, 1937, contains: "Kelturah Belknap's Chronicle of the Bellfountain Settlement," edited by Robert Moulton Gatke; "A Chapter in the History of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company," Part II, edited by Frank B. Gill and Dorothy Johansen; "Lieutenant Jeremy Pinch," by J. Neilson Barry; "Letters of Charles Stevens," Part VI, edited by E. Ruth Rockwood; "From Rendezvous to the Columbia," by T. C. Elliott.

Pacific Historical Review

June, 1937, contains: "The Southern Pacific Railroad and Settlement in Southern California," by Edna Monch Parker; "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849," by John Walton Caughey; "The Jacob Y. Stover Narrative," edited by John Walton Caughey. September, 1937, contains: "George Simpson and Oregon Missions," by J. Orin Oliphant; "California and the Silver Question in 1895," by Harold F. Taggart; "History of the Santa Cruz Island Grant," by William Henry Ellison.

Pacific Northwest Quarterly

October, 1937, contains: "The Army and the Oregon Trail to 1846," by Henry Putney Beers; Notes and Documents: "The Chief Factors of the Columbia Department, 1821-1846," by P. C. Clark; "The Discovery of the Oregon Trail," by J. Neilson Barry.

Pony Express Courier

June to November, 1937 (issued monthly), contains many articles of historical interest concerning California and the West.

San Francisco Bar

June, 1937, contains: "The California Lawyer [William Walker] Who Became President of a Republic," by Charles R. Boden; "Early California Law Books (1850-1851)," by Alfred C. Skaife.

Southwest Museum Papers

Number 11, June, 1937: "The Archeology of Pleistocene Lake Mohave," a symposium by Elizabeth W. Crozer Campbell, William H. Campbell, Ernest Antevs, Charles Avery Amsden, Joseph A. Barbieri and Francis D. Bode.

Westways

August, 1937, contains: "'Six Horse' Charley [Parkhurst]," by Idwal Jones; "The Padre's Pear Brandy," by Douglas S. Watson. September, 1937, contains: "Father Struck It Poor," by Ada Martin Elliott; "Bohemian No. 1 [Col. John C. Cremony]," by Franklin Walker; "Tar Babies" [Asphalt pits near Carpinteria], by Chester Stock. October, 1937, contains: "California's Great Fault [San Andreas]," by William M. Bristol; "The Cattle King Pays a Debt," by Douglas S. Watson.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The luncheon meeting of September 21, 1937 was held at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, the speaker being Mrs. Theodore J. Hoover. Her subject was "Recent Visits to Old Ranchos," which she visited in order to obtain material for her latest book of a three-volume series, "Historic Spots in California." This third book deals with counties of the coast range.

When San Francisco County was divided in 1856, most of the old ranchos fell within the newly created San Mateo County; Rancho Laguna de la Merced, and Cañada de Guadalupe la Visitación y Rodeo Viejo lying in both. On the new State Highway No. 1, incidentally the route of Don Gaspar de Portolá at the time of the discovery of San Francisco Bay, are located Rancho San Pedro, Rancho El Corral de Tierra, near Half Moon Bay; Rancho Miramontes, Rancho Cañada de Verde y Arroyo de la Purísima, Rancho San Gregorio, Rancho San Antonio, or El Pescadero; Rancho Butano, later owned by Loren Coburn, and Rancho Punta del Año Nuevo, later owned in part by Isaac Graham and Loren Coburn, upon which the former erected a house which is still in use.

Going south on the El Camino Real was the Rancho Buri Buri, Rancho San Mateo, formerly Rancho Del Rey; Rancho de las Pulgas, one of the few Spanish grants, and Rancho Cañada de Raymundo (Raimundo). These last two ranchos were the subject of much litigation, and caused the financial ruin of Dennis Martin, who purchased part of the Rancho Cañada de Raymundo in 1846. Martin, being a very devout man, erected his own church in 1852, which had the distinction of being the first church built in San Mateo County.

At the October 19, 1937 luncheon, held at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, the speaker was Dr. Charles L. Camp, of the University of California, and his subject, "Prince Paul of Württemberg's Journeys in America."

On a recent trip to Stuttgart, Dr. Camp unearthed diaries and manuscripts of Prince Paul which hitherto had escaped public notice. These contained accounts of his trips to America, and accompanying them were drawings and paintings, many of which were by Baldwin Möllhausen. Prince Paul was born in 1797, and made his first trip to North America in the years 1822-26, going up the Missouri River as far as the Yellowstone. This trip was the basis for his only known published book, *Erste Reise nach dem nördlichen Amerika in den Jahren 1822 bis 1824*. From 1829 to 1832, he traveled up the Missouri River, and through Texas and northern Mexico. In 1839, he visited Egypt and Abyssinia, and made some remarkable observations regarding the Nubian Desert. His interests were primarily those of a naturalist and bird-lover. In 1849, he returned to America, landing at the mouth of the Missis-

sippi, and went again through Texas and northern Mexico, crossing to Mazatlan, and in 1850 took ship for California. In May, he landed at San Pedro, and after a short stay, left for San Francisco. From here by the Steamer *Senator* on July 2 he journeyed to Sacramento City, making many interesting observations of his trip, of the city and its inhabitants, and particularly of Johann August Sutter. He visited the mines, but, having no interest in mining, merely purchased some nuggets as souvenirs. He returned later to Germany where he died in 1860.

LOIS H. MCVEIGH.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

September 1 to November 30, 1937

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Dobie, Charles Caldwell, *San Francisco adventures*, N. Y., Appleton, 1937; Field, Sara Bard, and Wood, Charles E. S., *Selected poems*, S. F., Grabhorn Press, 1937; and others.

From MISS KATHERINE R. CARROLL—Carroll, Luke M., *Holy Cross Parish and Lone Mountain District of San Francisco*, [San Francisco], 1937.

From MR. ROGER P. DALTON—Hutchison, Louisa W., *Azusa, "the blessed miracle,"* Azusa, 1937.

From MISS ELEANOR M. DAVENPORT—Eldredge, Zoeth S., *Beginnings of San Francisco*, S. F., 1912.

From MRS. JEROME A. HART—Hart, Ann Clark, *Clark's Point*, San Francisco: Pioneer Press, 1937; idem, *Lone Mountain*, S. F., Pioneer Press, 1937.

From MESSRS. THOMAS KEARNY and RIDLEY WATTS—*General Philip Kearny*, N. Y.: Putnam's, 1937.

From MR. REINHARD H. LUTHIN—Luthin, R. H., *The sale of Alaska* (reprint from *Slavonic Review*, July, 1937).

From MRS. A. MAUSSHARDT—Annual catalogues of St. Mary's Hall, Benicia, for 1881 and 1882; Catalogue of Young Ladies Seminary, Benicia, 1883-84.

From RUSSIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA—Farafontoff, A. P. (ed.), *Advanced military post which in the past was the glory of Russia in America, 125 year jubilee, 1812-1937* [in Russian].

From STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS—Hoover, Mildred B., *Historic spots in California: counties of the Coast Range*, Stanford University, 1937.

From UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS—Cahn, Frances, and Bary, Valeska, *Welfare activities of federal, state, and local governments*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936; Coulter, Edith M., and Gerstenfeld, Melanie, *Historical bibliographies*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1935.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Humboldt, Alexandre de, *Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne*, Paris, 1808, 2 vols. and atlas [used by Napoleon at St. Helena]; Wagner, H. R., *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the year 1800*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937, 2 vols.; idem, *The Plains and the Rockies*, S. F.: Grabhorn Press, 1937; idem, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794*. Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1937, 2 vols.

From MR. ERNEST A. WILTSEE—Wiltsee, E. A., *The Joseph W. Gregory Express, 1850-1853* (from the *American Philatelist*, November, 1936, to March, 1937).

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Seton, Ernest Thompson, *Monarch, the big bear of Tallac,* New York, 1904.

From THE ZAMORANO CLUB—Treanor, Thomas C., *John Treanor,* Los Angeles: Zamorano Club, 1937.

PICTURES AND MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Cliff House and Seal Rocks, lith. by Nahl Brothers (framed); Stockton City bond of the 1850's (framed); Virginia and Truckee Railroad Company bond, 1874 (framed), and other items.

From MISS ELEANOR M. DAVENPORT—Menu: Gelett Burgess, "A Dinner of Les Jeunes," with signatures of Gelett Burgess, Willis Polk, Porter Garnett, Frank Norris and others; Poems: "Old Glory," by Emma Frances Dawson (mimeographed), and "The Rain," by Henry E. Mathews.

From MRS. JEROME A. HART—Lone Mountain Cemetery, San Francisco, 1866 (framed photograph of lithograph).

From MRS. A. MAUSSHARDT—Photographs (2) of pupils of St. Mary's Hall, Benicia, 1882 and 1883.

From MRS. J. SULTAN—Declaration of intention of Adolphus Nachmann to become a citizen of the United States, January 4, 1855.

From MISS LOTTIE G. WOODS—Hub of an old wagon wheel found near Donner Lake in the 1890's (possibly a relic of the Donner party); lithograph of James A. Garfield, 1881; views of Mills College, University of California, and Stanford University; three posters: Portola Festival, 1909; Christian Endeavor Convention, 1897; Sunset Magazine, 1910.

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Baruch, Frederick	San Francisco	Mr. Allen L. Chickering
Black, Mrs. James B.	San Francisco	Mrs. Daniel Volkmann
Browne, Spencer C.	Piedmont	Milton H. Shutes, M. D.
Cowen, Marion	San Francisco	Mrs. W. F. C. Zimmermann
Fitch, Miss Virginia	San Francisco	Miss Eleanor M. Davenport
Freeman, Leslie J.	San Leandro	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Gantner, Vallejo	Hollywood	Mrs. John O. Gantner
Hartman, Howard	San Francisco	Mrs. W. F. C. Zimmermann
Hutchinson, J. S.	San Francisco	Miss Eleanor M. Davenport
Middlemas, Mrs. Stuart	Menlo Park	Miss Edith W. Allyne
Ready, Lester S.	San Francisco	Mr. Douglas S. Watson
St. Clair, Orla	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Szemanski, Mrs. F. Clayre	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins

In Memoriam

William H. Crocker

1861-1937

William H. Crocker, a patron member of the California Historical Society, and one of the best known and best loved citizens of California, died at his home at Hillsborough in San Mateo County on September 25. Mr. Crocker was born at Sacramento January 13, 1861, the son of Charles and Mary Ann (Deming) Crocker. His father was one of the notable quartette consisting of Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, C. P. Huntington and Charles Crocker, who successfully promoted and completed the Central Pacific Railway. Mr. Crocker was born to wealth and position, and, as much as any man of our time, recognized and responded to the obligation to his country and state arising therefrom. His entire life, except for time spent in schooling and traveling, was spent in California, and a great part of his time and effort was spent in services to the public. In business Mr. Crocker was engaged in banking since 1883 and had been President of the Crocker First National Bank of San Francisco up to a short time prior to his death. At the time of his death he was Chairman of the Board of Directors of this bank. He was also President of the Crocker Estate Co. and of the Provident Securities Co., family corporations, and a Director of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.

Politically he was a Republican and represented his state on the Republican National Committee for many years, but never held any elective office.

The fire following the earthquake of April 18, 1906, destroyed the Episcopal Church where Mr. Crocker worshipped and also his family home on California Street in San Francisco. He thereupon gave to the Church for the purpose of erecting Grace Cathedral the site of his own home and that of his parents, and erected at his own expense that part of the Cathedral known as Grace Chapel.

He was deeply interested in the Community Chest of San Francisco, which he headed for many years, and to which he was one of the heaviest contributors. He devoted not only his money but his time and energy to its work. In fact, he was always ready to listen favorably to any appeal for assistance to his state, city and the public generally. He was also for many years a Regent of the University of California and Chairman of the Board of Regents for twelve years.

Mr. Crocker graduated from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University in 1886. He married Ethel W. Sperry, of Stockton, October 6, 1886. She died in 1934. He had four children, who survive him: William W.

Crocker, President of the Crocker First National Bank; Charles Crocker, Mrs. Henry P. Russell and the Countess De Limur.

A thorough-going democratic Californian of the old school, deeply devoted to his country, state and city, is gone, truly mourned by the people generally, whether personally acquainted with him or not.

Hugh Goodfellow

1880-1937

Hugh Goodfellow, who died July 10, 1937, was born November 12, 1880, the son of William S. and Alice Goodfellow. He was educated in the public schools of Oakland and in the University of California, from which he graduated in 1901. Shortly after he was admitted to the Bar and practiced law until the time of his death. In his earlier days he was with the firm of Goodfellow, Eells & Orrick, of which his father was the head, but more latterly he practiced alone. Mr. Goodfellow was married December 20, 1905, to Jean Downey, by whom he had four children: Marion, now Mrs. Edward Hamilton; Jane, Elizabeth and Scott, who survive him. He was later divorced, married again and left a widow. While in college, Mr. Goodfellow was affiliated with the Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity.

Josiah W. Stanford

1864-1937

Josiah W. Stanford died September 10, 1937, following injuries received in an automobile accident at Evanston, Wyoming. At the time of the accident he was on his way to the Rocky Mountain National Park in Colorado to visit his daughter, Helen, and her husband, David H. Canfield, an official of the National Park System.

Mr. Stanford was born at San Francisco on August 24, 1864, and educated in private schools. On December 6, 1899, he married Alice Herrick. His widow and one daughter, Mrs. David H. Canfield, survive him.

In his earlier days Mr. Stanford was the owner and manager of the Warm Springs Ranch at Warm Springs, Alameda County, California, but, as he became older, he sold this ranch and moved to Piedmont, which was his residence at the time of his death. Mr. Stanford was a nephew of Senator Leland Stanford. He was deeply interested in California, and particularly loved the country.